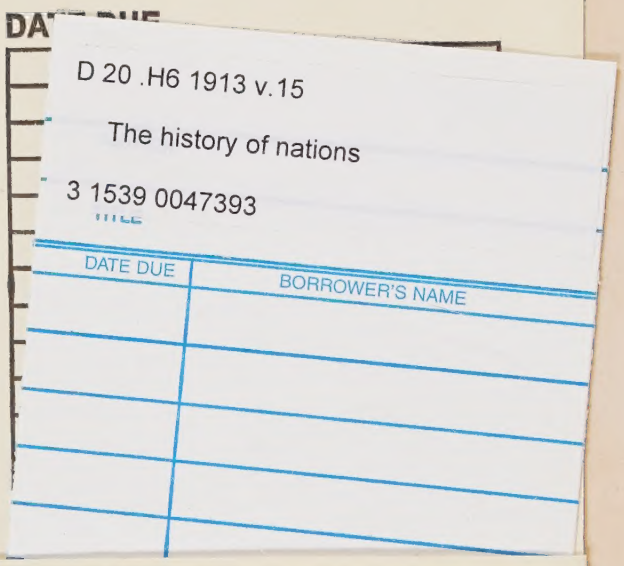
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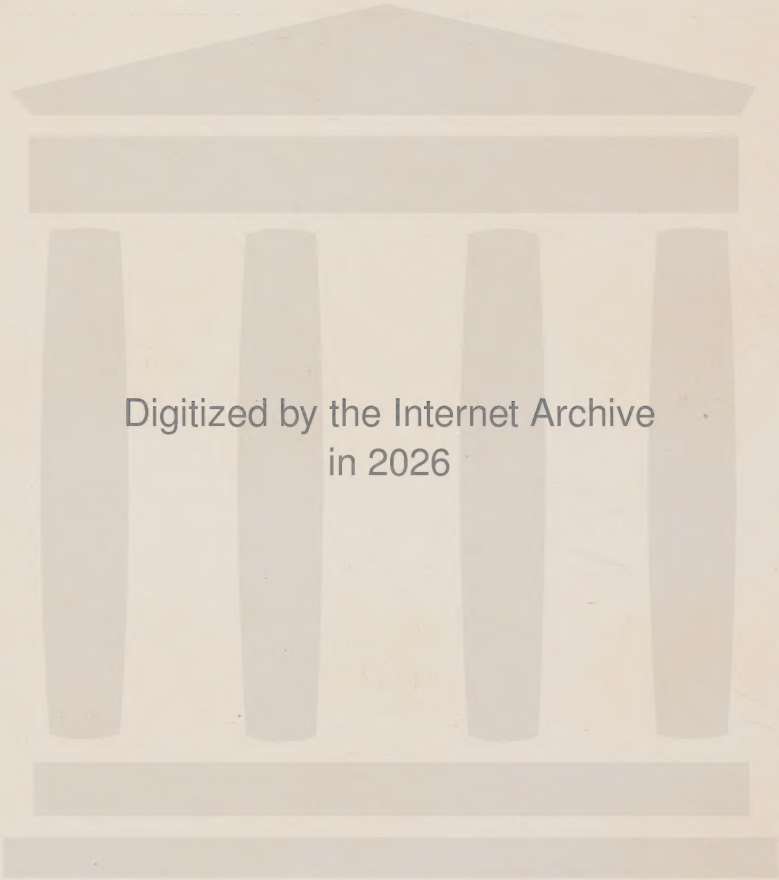
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THE HISTORY OF NATIONS

HENRY CABOT LODGE, Ph. D., LL. D. · EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

RUSSIA AND POLAND

BY WILLIAM RICHARD MORFILL, M. A.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY

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POLISH REPUBLIC AND BALTIC STATES

VOLUME XV

ILLUSTRATED

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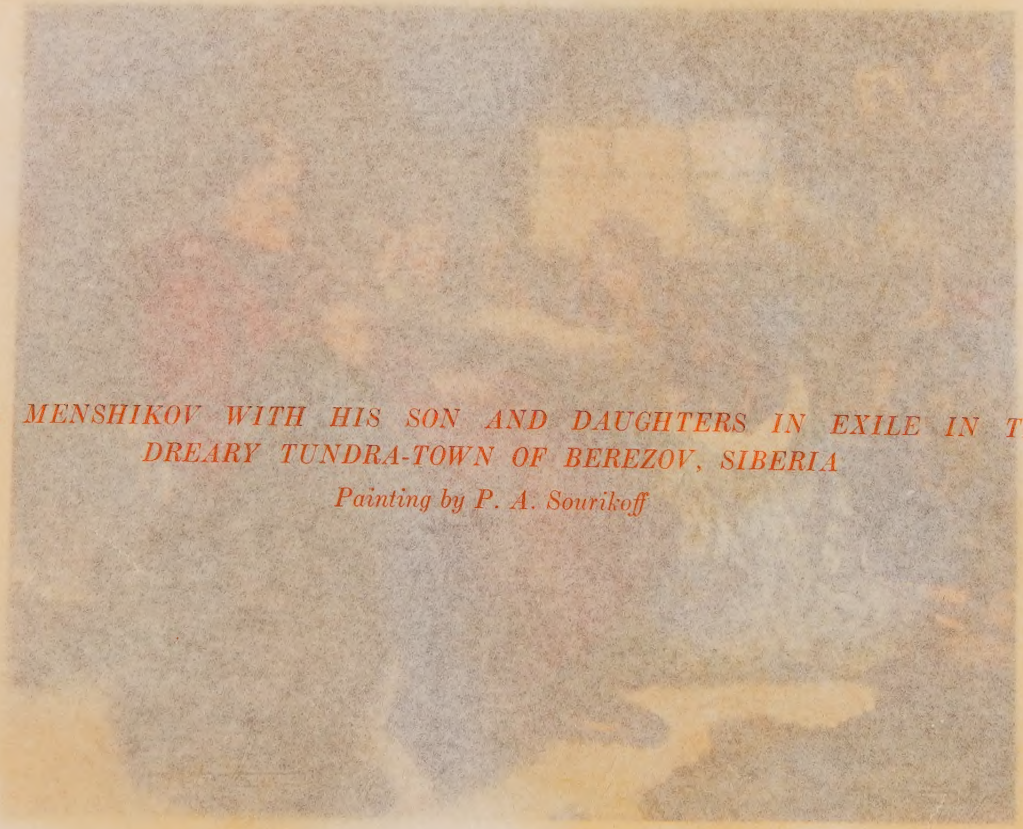

A. D. MENSHIKOV WITH HIS SON AND DAUGHTERS IN EXILE IN THE DREARY TUNDRA-TOWN OF BEREZOV, SIBERIA

Painting by P. A. Sourikoff

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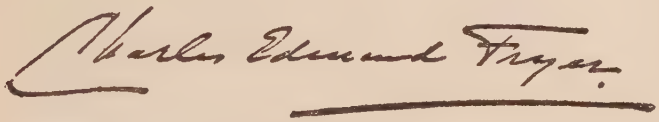
NOTE

The editors of "The History of Nations" concluded their work with the chronicling of events to October, 1905, and all additions thereafter, bringing the histories to date, have been supplied by the publishers.

PREFACE

THE editorial work in this volume has been limited for the most part to condensing Professor Morfill's narrative so as to bring it within the limits prescribed for this series. The first and last chapters on Russia are contributed by the editor for the purpose of making the history complete in point of extent. The discussion of Poland is intended to be more or less supplemental.



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PART I

THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE
862-1730

HISTORY OF RUSSIA

Chapter I

THE PERIOD OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
862-1676

A CASUAL glance at the map of Europe and Asia will reveal quite clearly certain of the physical conditions under which Russia has developed. Compared with England, France, or Spain in point of size, what a vast extent of territory is embraced by a single state: running east and west, from the Baltic to the Sea of Kamchatka; and north and south, from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, the Caspian, and, as it may some day appear, the waters of the Indian Ocean. A heritage truly imperial, and offering a greater expanse of continuous land than any other empire! Examined more closely, other features in contrast to the states of western Europe begin to appear. The mountains of Continental Europe lie for the most part in the western and southern quarters. But easterly from the Carpathians, the Continent broadens out into a huge monotonous plain, watered by rivers of considerable length. And were the Ural Mountains correctly appreciated—their blackness on the ordinary map making them seem much more formidable than they really are, being for the most part only hills—it would appear that this vast plain extends almost uninterruptedly from shore to shore of the several bodies of water mentioned above. Scarcely within this enormous expanse of level country is there to be found any one feature which offers itself as a natural frontier or boundary line. The essential unity of the whole, physically, seems to have contributed in no small measure to the political unity which is now fast being achieved.

Glancing at the map from north to south, it will be seen that Russia embraces more degrees of latitude than any other European state, stretching with one arm into the very regions of the Arctic; with the other, into the deserts of central Asia; and changing, by degrees, from the frozen bogs and marshes of the north, through

the wooded district of the center, to the steppes of the south. Yet, despite its great size, this territory, in the early history of Christendom, was practically isolated from the rest of Europe. For, when we consider the general commerce and travel of Europe, more particularly in the Middle Ages, it will be seen to what a degree Russia lay outside the established sphere of trade and commercial exchange. Indeed, by the fifteenth century western Europe had grown almost oblivious of the existence of a Slavic state on the Volga; so much so in fact, that in the era of exploration at the close of the fifteenth century, Muscovy underwent a "discovery," and travelers published descriptions of the country with a minuteness appropriate only to a region hitherto unknown.

Turning again to the map for the internal features of the country, it will be seen that, aside from the absence of hills and a "natural" frontier, aside from the vast extent of plain, the most striking thing is a system of rivers, which, with their tributaries, form a complicated network, and allow an easy and almost continuous means of passage throughout the entire country.

It is in connection with one of these waterways that the national history opens. In their original extent, as distinct from the Germans and the Celts, the Slavs occupied portions of the valleys drained by the Elbe, the Oder, the Vistula with some smaller rivers farther east flowing into the Baltic, and the Dnieper flowing into the Black Sea. In the expansion of Germany eastward, after the era of Charlemagne, the Slavs of the Elbe and the Oder fell under German sway and became more or less Germanized. Those of the Vistula, approximately, kept their political independence, and under the name of Poland, formed an integral part of western Christendom. For the Slavs still farther east, along the waterway formed by the Dnieper with the Dwina or the Niemen, a different fate was in store. The waterway was almost continuous from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and afforded passage for traders and Norse adventurers from the different parts of Scandinavia to Constantinople and the Eastern Empire. The Slavs settled in this region were grouped into tribes, and the existence of such trading posts as Novgorod bespoke other pursuits aside from primitive agriculture. It may be assumed that before the ninth century the Norsemen had evinced a design not only to plunder, but also to subjugate the Slavic tribes nearest the Baltic. But if tradition may be relied upon, these early raids were invariably repulsed. The Slavs re-

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fused to pay tribute to the Norse chiefs, and maintained their independence.

Toward the middle of the ninth century the resistance began to weaken, owing perhaps to internal dissension. At last in the year 862, a Norse chief, with his followers, was "invited" to assume the duties of government. His name was Rurik, of the tribe of Russ, and he took up his station in the city of Novgorod.

He is the legendary founder of the long line of princes, the Rurikovitches, who governed Russia until the accession of the Romanovs in the seventeenth century.

This early Slavic community over which the Norsemen, or Varangians, came to rule, embraced on the south the upper valley of the Dnieper and its tributaries, with the important cities of Kiev, Chernigov, and Smolensk. On the north, it touched Lake Ladoga, and counted among its cities the ancient republic of Nov-

gorod at the head of Lake Ilmen. On the east, it touched the headwaters of the Volga, a fact of political importance, for it was along the Volga valley, by a process of gradual colonization, that the Great Russian, as distinguished from the Little Russian, branch was to develop. To the west, it touched the headwaters of the Dwina, on which stood the city of Polotsk, and the Niemen, both of which rivers in their main streams drained Lithuanian territory. In extent, the whole region was considerably larger than modern Germany, a comparison worth bearing in mind as showing, in view of the later expansion of Russia, the really very large territory with which the empire started. The absence of any natural frontier inevitably placed the early Slavs in immediate contact with their neighbors. In regard to the latter, it is essential to note the many variations of ethnical type, for in the process of expansion these have been to some degree assimilated, though not without a reciprocal influence upon the Slavic type itself. To the north and east lay a thinly scattered population of Finns; to the south and east, tribes of Turkish origin; to the west, the Lithuanians and also those Slavs whose political adhesion lay with Poland. Had all of these neighbors been a match for the early Russians, the latter might possibly have found themselves confined, early in their history, within limits prescribed by a conventionally settled political frontier. In the case of the Turkish tribes to the south and east, frontier questions did indeed lie between contestants of more or less equal strength, for the ferocity and relentlessness of these warlike nomads, such as the Khazars and the Petcheneks, became proverbial. But between Russian and Finn was a marked inequality of which the Russians took a natural advantage. Under such circumstances the frontier line could not be stationary. It moved constantly at the expense of the Finns, and thus inclined the energies of the early state toward expansion rather than toward cohesion and consolidation.

Political conditions within this gradually expanding community can be classed under no single principle. A primitive form of democracy, in which the precedence of authority was generally conceded to age, may be accepted as a Slavic tradition. This appears not only in the small agricultural communities, but also in such city governments as Novgorod, wherein prevailed a sensitive jealousy of popular rights, guarded by the vetché or republican assembly. The acceptance of a régime of princes signalized by the legendary

calling of Rurik, did not mean an acquiescence in irresponsible government. The vetchés served as checks to the princes, the undefined relations between the two leading to frequent conflicts. The position of the princes was still further discounted by a pernicious principle of succession, primogeniture not yet being recognized. There developed a system which, to borrow an ecclesiastical phrase, considered the country as divided into so many dioceses, the "see" of Kiev being reserved for the grand prince. In case of the death of a grand prince, the dignity fell, not to the eldest son, but to the "eldest" of the family, to an uncle or a brother as the case might be. It added to the confusion of this system that the death of a grand prince necessarily altered the position of the surviving members of the family, by changing the number of degrees in which each stood from the eldest. As the same principle of succession applied to each of the separate divisions, the result was a more or less continuous shifting from one division or seat to another. A time came when there were four or five times as many princes as principalities to be filled, a condition which was not without its influence probably in prompting the more adventurous and aggressive of the unprovided princes to found new principalities of their own by acquiring land at the expense of the Finns.

The work of the princes was conspicuous chiefly on its military side. A band of armed warriors, called a drujina, grouped itself around each prince to follow the fortunes of war. Personal loyalty seems to have played little part in this relation. Each warrior felt himself free to change from one master to another according to circumstances. This principle, coupled with the tradition of political decentralization, may partly explain the chaos of internal strife presented by the annals of the period. Lack of union and subordination, unless counteracted by the personal influence of some great prince, led to weakness even in the face of the enemy. But the military undertakings of the period are full of interest. In the ninth and tenth centuries a series of expeditions carried the Russians to the very walls of Constantinople itself. The eastern emperors were glad to disarm the hostility of these invaders by grants of trading privileges, by bribes of money, and by employment as mercenaries against the Bulgarians. More urgent, however, was the situation nearer home. Particularly with the Turkish plainsmen, the Polovtsi and Khazars, to the southeast, relations were invariably hostile, and marked by continual border warfare.

Raid was met by counter-raid, nor were the advantages always with the Russians. But to the northeast conditions seem to have been more favorable, for the Russians began slowly to make their way down the Volga valley.

The armed expeditions to Constantinople—an ominous precedent for later history perhaps—were incidental to more subtle relations between the Byzantines and the Russians. Constantinople became the fountain head of the religion, art, and literature which brought Russia within the pale of civilization. It is worth noting, in this connection, that in point of time, the adoption of Christianity by the new state came comparatively late, for whereas the spiritual foundations of western Christendom had long been fixed, it was not till the very close of the tenth century that the Grand Prince Vladimir at Kiev demolished the images of the heathen gods and ordered the population of the city into the stream of the Dnieper to receive baptism at the hands of the Byzantine missionaries. Novgorod and other cities following suit, in a short time the Greek faith was professed by the whole nation. Further, the adoption of the Byzantine communion insured an almost total separation from the spiritual and intellectual life of western Christendom, a separation for which the geographical situation of early Russia was primarily responsible. Following in the footsteps of her Byzantine teachers, Russia grew farther and farther apart from the West, remaining a stranger to all the virility of the movement which expressed itself in the manifold phases of chivalry, Gothic art, and municipal independence. The nation fell under the more or less sterile influence of Byzantine tradition: an unfortunate equipment, indeed, with which to face the blight of later political subserviency to the Tatars.

In the confused political system, noted above, the city of Kiev on the Dnieper retained its prestige as the seat of the grand prince for about four centuries. Its fortunes were at their height during the eleventh century under Yaroslav the Great (1016-1054), but began to decline after Vladimir Monomachus (1113-1125). In the meantime, on the upper Volga, there developed from the gradual extension of the frontier through military colonization, a population of frontiersmen who knew not the traditions of Kiev and Novgorod. Frontier life was much to the advantage of the princes. The advance of the Russians up the Volga went on at the expense of the Finns, and this necessitated an armed occupation of each new

1125-1140

strip of land acquired. The initiative lay with the princes who, with their drujinas, or armed bands, wrested the land from the original inhabitants, and protected the settlers, to whom they granted the privilege of occupation. Thus the conditions under which these new principalities were created tended to exalt the position of the prince and fostered the assumption of an autocratic power which has flourished with varying degrees of vigor ever since. But frontier life along the Volga did more than further autocracy; by the mixture of Russian and Finn it promoted the development of a new ethnical type. The assimilation of the Finns brought to the Russian settlers certain mental characteristics such as steadfastness, and fatalism, perhaps, which slowly differentiated them from the original type on the Dnieper. The Volga became the cradle of a new type of Slav, known historically as the Great Russian, in distinction from the Little Russian of Kiev. New Russia, the country of the upper Volga, thus stood in contrast to the old Russia of Kiev and Novgorod.

Eventually the two were brought into conflict. The time came when the succession to the dignity of grand prince fell to the Prince of Suzdal. Rather than take up his residence in Kiev, the new grand prince preferred to remain in his own principality on the Volga. This defiance of all tradition was nowhere more resented than in Kiev itself. It required an army from the north to bring the "Mother City" to terms. Henceforth the title of grand prince, no longer associated with Kiev, begins to lose its old meaning. It is even assumed by two or three princes at a time, indicating a still greater degree of political chaos, which the stern conditions of life on the Volga did little either to soften or to simplify.

To what extent the pushing forward of the frontier and the creation of new principalities might have gone on in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries will always be a matter of conjecture. With the thirteenth century there begins a fateful period. Geographically, Russia happened to lie directly in the line of advance of other states whose expansion in these two centuries brought to the immediate frontier enemies with which a group of principalities, loosely held together, could scarcely cope on equal terms.

Sweden, to begin with, was already feeling her way along the eastern coast of the Baltic. The advance of the Swedes brought them into the territory claimed by the city republic of Novgorod. For a time the Novgorodians held the Swedes in check. Under

their prince, Alexander, they defeated the enemy on the banks of the Neva. The victory won for Alexander the title of Nevski, and the Alexander Nevski monastery in St. Petersburg, where the bones of the hero are reputed to be, perpetuates his name.

Contemporaneously, almost, with the advance of the Swedes to the south, there began a movement on the part of the Germans to colonize the rest of the east Baltic coast. The acquisition of this district by the Germans partook of the nature of a crusade shared alike by warrior bishops and the military order of the Livonian Knights. Riga, at the mouth of the Dwina, was founded in 1200. The old Russian settlement of Yuriev, not far from Pskov, became the German bishopric of Dorpat. The princes of Pskov and Novgorod had to suffer this encroachment without opposition. The original inhabitants became the serfs and slaves of their German conquerors, and fortress and military garrisons made the foreign occupation secure. The Russians were thus cut off from the Baltic.

A third encroachment, in itself sufficiently grave, was the Tatar invasion of the thirteenth century. As a result of this, nearly all of southern Russia, including the lower half of the Volga valley, became part of a large Tatar state. Territorially, the Russians were cut off from an approach to the Black Sea and from access to the lower Volga. They were thus confined roughly to the principalities of the upper Volga with its tributaries and to the large regions in the north claimed by the city republic of Novgorod. The Russian princes became tributary to the Tatar khan. It is very easy to exaggerate the influence and effects of the Tatar yoke which for two centuries the Russians had to endure. In many respects the subjection appeared to be only nominal. There was practically no mixing of blood, no disturbance, or persecution of religion, no confiscation of lands or estates. For the Russians the situation was made sufficiently degrading by the presence of Tatar tax-gatherers, sent to assess and collect the tribute. The princes were forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Tatar khans, who kept in their hands the disposal of the title of grand prince, the settlement of cases of disputed succession, and the granting of commissions, for all of which there was exacted the customary oriental servility. Otherwise the princes were left very much to themselves, being free to indulge in the personal and family quarrels which mark the internal history of the principalities and their relations with one another.

1321-1386

The last encroachment came from the rise and expansion of the state of Lithuania. The details of this belong more properly to Polish history. To Russia the results were of momentous consequence. The upper valley of the Dnieper, including Kiev, the center of old Russia, passed into the hands of Lithuania, and the Russian population, belonging to the Greek Church, passed under the yoke of Catholic Lithuanian masters. Lithuania and Poland formed a dynastic union in 1386, which was turned into an administrative union in 1549. In consequence, all of western Russia which had fallen under Lithuania underwent the curse of Polonization. A semi-feudal system of Polish landlordism degraded the Russian peasants. Their unfortunate lot was made even harder by the proselytizing of the Jesuits and the merciless exactions of Jewish overseers. Upon the Jews, especially, the malignant hatred of the subject agricultural population seems to have exercised itself.

With the cutting off of western Russia the isolation of the principalities on the Volga was complete. Swedes, Germans, Lithuanians, and Tatars, had closed in on all sides except the north, and formed a barrier to all advance. Shut in from the rest of Europe, Russia had nothing but her Byzantine traditions and her orthodox faith upon which to lean, and the sterile, formalistic character of these is sufficient apology for the intellectual stagnation of the period.

This succession of disasters may be attributed in part to the actual military superiority of the Tatars and others over the Russians. A more probable cause, however, is to be found in the imperfect organization which the Russians themselves had. A system of principalities or duchies, loosely held together, and exercising their jealousies even in the face of the common enemy, could make only a feeble effort at national resistance. It might be supposed that a common danger would have welded the separate principalities into some form of a centralized state. Such seems not to have been the case. Mutual jealousy kept the separate divisions apart. The ultimate development of a national state was owing to the fact that one line of princes, more shrewd, unscrupulous, and farseeing than the rest, succeeded in the course of two centuries in acquiring a supremacy over their rivals, which supremacy they forcibly converted into a territorial sovereignty over all the lands that had not fallen into the hands of the enemy. Thus the autocrat

of a small principality became in the progress of two centuries the autocrat of all the Russias. It would involve too much detail to describe the humble origin of the village which was destined to become the political and national center of this new state. Moscow makes its first appearance in the chronicles for the year 1147. For over a hundred years it was a mere settlement in the principality of Suzdal. Toward the end of the thirteenth century it fell to one of the younger sons of Alexander Nevski, the hero of the battle on the Neva against the Swedes. The name of this prince was Daniel. Before his death in 1303 Daniel had increased his appanage by several towns wrested from other princes. His successors carried on a long and bloody struggle with the other princes for political ascendency. In the course of this struggle the court of Moscow gained in importance with the political prestige of its rulers. The general character of these men, forbidding enough in itself, reflects after all but the brutal violence of a time of anarchy. By shrewdly cringing to the Tatars, on the one hand, and by calculating remorselessly every advantage to be had from their rivals, on the other, they were able to turn the course of events to their own account. Yet in the end there was something not unpatriotic in their self-seeking. They championed the national resistance to the Mongols, they furthered the interests of the orthodox church, and they executed vengeance on the princes whose doubtful allegiance or treachery, whether by alliance with Lithuania or the Mongols, jeopardized national independence.

With the accession of Ivan the Great there comes at last a prince whose work, conceived on a larger scale than that of his predecessors, shows the new state gradually emerging from the dark ages of internal strife and of degrading subserviency to the Tatars.

Ivan III., or the Great, enjoyed a long reign of forty-three years, from 1462 to 1505. Into his general policy he introduced little that was new; his work was the completion of the task to which the long line of the princes of Moscow had been devoted. Yet, contrasted with his predecessors his aggressiveness appears the more striking. Against the princes in the Volga valley who still retained their autonomy, he watched for every advantage; as occasion served he carried out the annexation of Tver, Rostov, and Yaroslav, and incorporated them into the government of Moscow. With the exception of the few remaining states annexed by his

successor he thus held the whole of the upper valley of the Volga. The somewhat equivocal allegiance of Novgorod was settled by the forcible submission of the republic in 1478: the timely action of the grand prince not only brought a vast acquisition of territory to Moscow, it prevented the city from falling into the hands of Lithuania or Poland. On the newly acquired lands Ivan settled thousands of new proprietors, adding thus to the military service at the disposal of the state as well as the support of a new landed interest. To the east, his soldiers threaded the passes of the Urals and opened the way into another continent. Political unity on a national basis was now more or less of an accomplished fact.

The signal event of Ivan's reign is one toward which the course of things had long been tending, namely, the overthrow of Mongol power. In point of action the affair was quite inglorious. When, in 1480, the khan sent his messengers to Moscow for the customary tribute, Ivan treated the demand with every species of insult, and took the field with a large army. The force sent by the khan faced the Russians across the River Oka. Neither army ventured to cross the river to give battle. The Russians appear to have been eager to bring on an engagement, but the timid caution of Ivan made him hold back. After fifteen days of impatient waiting, the situation was relieved by a sudden drop in the temperature by which the Oka became sufficiently frozen for passage. Alarmed lest the enemy should cross, Ivan began to withdraw his forces. This movement seems to have been misinterpreted by the enemy, who, fearing that the Russians would cross and attack them, likewise began a retreat. Each army seeing the other in motion, the retreat was hastened until it became a panic on both sides. The results of this strange episode were all in favor of the Russians, for no further tribute was paid to the Tatar khans.

In a different direction, and with scarcely any more effort, Ivan met with success. He watched an opportunity for attacking Lithuania, now under the Grand Duke Alexander, and in 1494 by the terms of the treaty which ended the struggle, added to his territory the lands of western Russia as far west as the Desna, a tributary of the Dnieper. This reunion of lands formerly Russian flattered the pride of the Muscovites; it had the further merit of redeeming their brethren of the orthodox faith from the Polish Catholics. Alexander found occasion to break the truce of 1494. He had secured an ally in the Livonian Order, the latter doubtless

feeling that the consolidation and expansion of the Muscovite state would sooner or later menace their possession of the Baltic coast line. The order defeated the Russians in 1501, but were themselves defeated the following year. In 1503 Alexander concluded peace, abandoning to Ivan the lands as far west as the River Soja, another tributary of the Dnieper. With the Lithuanian campaigns Russia enters aggressively into the politics of northeastern Europe, and from now on the pushing forward of the western frontier becomes a distinct element in the Muscovite policy.

It would be impossible, in so short a sketch as this, to convey any idea of Russian life in the fifteenth century, or to discuss the national type which the conditions of the century were tending to develop. All that can be said is, that a strong Byzantine influence prevailed. Of this, the channel was the orthodox church, whose conservatism and rigidity of form were not without influence in things secular. A strong wave of Byzantinism marks the latter half of the century. The fall of Constantinople in 1453, with the accompanying dispersion of scholars, sent many of the latter to Moscow. More important still, the supplanting of the Byzantine emperors by a line of Mohammedan sultans, in Constantinople, seemed to leave Moscow the political center of the Greek Church. The grand prince was not slow to assume the rôle of successor to the orthodox Cæsar, a theory of grave political consequence, indeed, when it is extended to embrace a protectorship over Greek Christians in other states. If anything were wanting to complete the grounds for this new position, it was fulfilled when the grand prince married Sophia, a princess of the last imperial house of Palæologus. The presence of a Byzantine princess at the court of Moscow tended further to give the court a Byzantine flavor.

Yet another influence was at work, which was destined, in its results, completely to revolutionize Russian society. This influence came from the West. The Russian army, much as it had gained from a centralized administration, could only by virtue of superior numbers cope with the better-trained and better-armed troops of Lithuania and the Baltic provinces. Of the arts and learned professions practiced in the West, the Russians knew but little. Hence the eagerness of Ivan and his immediate successors to induce skilled workmen, builders, founders, engineers, soldiers, and mechanics to come from the West and settle in Moscow. Of these, the earliest were Italians, followed later by Germans, Dutch, and English, and

there grew up in Moscow a considerable settlement of foreigners. In the seventeenth century these were confined to a separate quarter or suburb. It was in this suburb that Peter the Great spent the idle hours of his childhood, acquiring habits and ideas quite at variance with Muscovite tradition.

Leaving the period of Ivan III., we pass over the reign of his son Vassili (1505-1533), and come at once to Ivan IV., called the Terrible. Both the personality and the statesmanship of the man were truly remarkable. Like Peter the Great and Catherine II., his character belongs to general history. It is a question to what extent his political activity can be described as original. Russian territorial policy had been formulated under Ivan the Great. Being a land-locked country, expansion could proceed in any direction. This makes the problem, logically, a very simple one; in all cases the objective point is clear. It only remains to choose the most expedient line of advance, and the most fitting occasions for extending the frontier. But for internal policy the case is different. Autocratic control over the large landed proprietors was being tightened, and the resulting opposition leads to a turmoil and confusion. The claims of the state, unhampered by actual constitutional limitations, or by any well-developed legal sense in society at large, seem to take the form of a purely personal issue between the tsar and his opponents. Thus it comes about that the reign of Ivan has all the elements of a tragedy rather than a revolution, because the personality of the tsar attracts to itself much more interest than the political issue involved in enforcing allegiance upon a refractory nobility.

In the work of expansion, Ivan's reign (1533-1584) is memorable for the conquest of Kazan (1550) and Astrakhan (1554). The old power of the Mongols in European Russia had long since lost its unity, and by the sixteenth century three or more separate khanates or states took its place. Of these, Kazan held the middle Volga, Astrakhan the lower Volga and the passage to the Black Sea. Around the northern shore of the Black Sea and extending far inland was the khanate of the Krim Tatars, with headquarters in the peninsula of the Crimea. The Krim or Crimean Tatars fell under the nominal sway of the Porte, and by their geographical situation were thrown into direct contact with both Lithuania and Muscovy. The rivalry between Lithuania and Muscovy found its counterpart in a similar rivalry between the khanates, so that in the

complicated relations growing out of the period, the basis of alliance is constantly shifting. This situation is simplified by the conquest which Ivan made of Kazan and Astrakhan. Territorially these two campaigns opened a gateway into central Asia, at the same time pushing the Russian frontier in the direction of the Black Sea. The balance of power was beginning to change in favor of Muscovy. But the wider issues involved in expansion were as yet scarcely apparent. Behind the Krim Tatars lay the power of Turkey, behind Lithuania was Poland, while Sweden was ready to spread a hostile wing over the Baltic provinces. With neither of these three powers was Muscovy then ready to cope upon equal terms; and the fact that at the end of the eighteenth century she was in a position to crush all three, is an index of the progress which the country was to make. The fall of Kazan and Astrakhan naturally alarmed the Crimean Tatars, and their attitude henceforth becomes uncompromisingly hostile. Chimerical as it may appear, Ivan is said to have cherished a plan for attacking the Crimea, and pushing the frontier without delay to the Black Sea. The futility of the scheme appears evident when we consider that Peter the Great withdrew from the attempt, and that it was only fufilled by a great sacrifice of men in the time of Catherine II.

Toward the West, Ivan was, on the whole, not very successful. His army was really no match for Swedish, German, or Polish soldiers. Yet he clearly grasped the situation, and, anticipating Peter the Great, was anxious to put his troops, in point of equipment and training, on the same footing with those of the West. The task presented many difficulties, chief of which was the fact that direct communication with the West was impossible, owing to the hostility of his immediate neighbors, whose territories formed an impassable barrier. Farthest north was Sweden, already at the Gulf of Finland. Next came the Baltic provinces under the Livonian Order, shutting off all approach to the Baltic sea line. The barrier was extended through Poland, to which in 1549 Lithuania was united administratively. With the Tatars to the south the wall was complete. The religious opinion of the Catholic countries of Europe looked with great disfavor upon any attempt to furnish the Muscovites with arms and ammunition. The Emperor Charles V. made serious efforts to stop the traffic in military supplies across the Muscovite frontier. But Protestant countries found the traffic profitable, and both England and the northern German states took

part in it. Charles V. interceded with Queen Elizabeth to prevent her subjects from helping the "enemies of Christendom," but the queen did not care to interfere. On one occasion Ivan had sent to Germany for a corps of engineers and artisans to the number of a hundred and over for service in Moscow. Through the vigilance of the Livonian Order they were intercepted at the Baltic ports and prevented from going farther.

In 1554 a treaty with Sweden, settling a dispute about the frontier near the Gulf of Finland, allowed communication across the Swedish boundary. In 1558 war broke out between Ivan and the Livonian Order. The Russians captured Narva on the Baltic, Dorpat (the old Russian village of Yuriev), and several other cities in the provinces. With Narva in his possession, Ivan broke the barrier which surrounded Muscovy, and opened direct communication between the Baltic and Moscow. Danish, Dutch, and English merchants availed themselves of this opportunity. The Livonian Order yielded on all sides to the Russians, and finally went into dissolution. Esthonia placed itself under the protection of Sweden; the grand master of the order kept Courland and Semigallia, which he converted into a duchy; Livonia fell to Poland, whose king, Sigismund II., was unable to offer much better resistance to the Russians. It was not until the accession of Stephen Bathory as King of Poland that the tide began to turn. Allied with the Crimean Tatars, Bathory recovered much of the territory recently taken by the Russians, and forced Ivan to ask for a truce, which was concluded in 1582. Ivan withdrew from the Baltic provinces. This early attempt to "open a window into Europe" had to be abandoned.

But the failure to hold Narva was in part compensated for by a curious piece of fortune which for the time being established the closest relations between Russia and England. A company of merchant adventurers, acting upon a theory propounded by one of the Cabots, dispatched an expedition around the North Cape, with the idea of discovering a northeast passage to China and the Indies. Part of the fleet was wrecked; the rest kept on, and soon found themselves sailing south with the sea still open. When land came in sight the mariners thought they must be in the mouth of some large river that penetrated the middle of Tatary. Great was their surprise to find themselves in the territory of the "Grand Duke of Muscovy." They had in fact found their way to the

southern shore of the White Sea. This discovery of a possible passage between London and Moscow was welcomed both by Ivan and the London merchants Diplomatic relations between the English and Russian courts were soon established. The Muscovy Company, of London, was given the privilege of erecting factories in different cities of the empire, and a fleet of ships passing annually between London and Archangel kept up a considerable traffic. Cloth, cutlery, and iron goods were exchanged for furs, pitch, tallow, and timber. Doctors, apothecaries, and adventurers of all sort found their way to Moscow, where they mingled with the motley array of Germans, Swedes, Danes, and Dutch in the foreign district.

In yet another direction expansion became possible. Shortly before his death Ivan received news that the vast territory of Siberia had been added to his dominions. Yermak, a Cossack freebooter, crossed the Urals, and with a small handful of men, armed with muskets, overthrew the nominal Mongolian power. It was to be a very long time, however, before the new land, won by this daring exploit, could assume anything of its later economic or political importance.

The strange personality of Ivan made the life of the court at Moscow almost a nightmare. The tsar was gifted with an imagination truly demoniacal. In moments of passion he discovered everywhere among his courtiers, enemies, suspects, and traitors. Often he must have appeared to his subjects as autocracy gone mad: either perpetrating inhuman butcheries or skulking into a seclusion of mock humility. The details of these fearful episodes have already found their way into general literature, and the character of Ivan the Terrible, like that of Louis XI. of France, has recently been attempted in English drama.

The immediate successor of Ivan the Terrible was his son Feodor, an elder son having met a tragic death at the hands of his own father, who in an outburst of passion struck the unfortunate youth with a staff, the blow proving fatal. Feodor's weakness of character enhanced the position of the duma, the deliberative council of state, composed of the leading boyars, or nobles. Among the boyars, at the accession of Feodor, a jealous zeal for supremacy seems to have been shared by Prince Shuiski, Mstislavski, and Boris Godunov. Boris outstripped his rivals and acquired an influence which almost superseded that of the incapable tsar. There

were not wanting those who ventured to think that Boris was plotting to secure the throne for himself. One obstacle stood in the way of his supreme ambition, and that was a younger brother of Feodor, named Dmitri, the heir-apparent. The sudden death of Dmitri, under circumstances of the gravest suspicion, did indeed further the plans of Boris, but it left a dark suspicion on his disinterestedness in the child's untimely end.

With the death of the weak Feodor in 1598, the direct line of the Rurikovitches came to an end. For fifteen dreary years Russia was to experience the vicissitudes of establishing a new dynasty.

The first to make good his claims was Boris Godunov. He became tsar by what amounted virtually to an election by the zemski sobor or states general. But the difficulties of his position proved insurmountable. He was successful in attaching to his interests the cause of the church and of the smaller landed nobility. For the former he instituted the patriarchate of Moscow, placing in the office one of his political dependents. For the latter he instituted serfdom. Previous to this agricultural labor had been allowed certain liberties in changing from one employer to another. This customary right had undergone gradual restriction; yet there still remained a stated time of the year when the laborer could leave one estate and find a home on another. By decree, this last right of freedom of contract was abolished, and serfdom became the lot of the rural classes. With the church and the lesser nobility for his support, Godunov might have succeeded in overcoming opposition and in founding a dynasty. But his position was compromised by a strange and unforeseen turn of events.

Although there could be little question as to the actual fact of the death of the Prince Dmitri, yet there appeared in Poland a young man proclaiming himself openly to be the prince in question. By a cleverly devised scheme of personation he succeeded in gaining credence for his claims. The King of Poland did not openly countenance these pretensions, but he took no steps to hinder the gathering of a large force under the standard of the pretender. In 1604, the false Dmitri, as he is called, crossed the frontier with an army of Poles and malcontents. It is a strange commentary upon the state of things at the time that with the appearance of this imposter authority seemed to be paralyzed. Godunov died in 1605, and his wife and son were slain in the

tumult that followed. The first attempt to establish a new dynasty had failed.

The false Dmitri effected an entrance into Moscow and was openly proclaimed tsar. But his power was short lived. The insolence of his Polish attendants disgusted the inhabitants of the city. A conspiracy under Vassili Shuiski, a former rival of Godunov, ended in the murder of the pretender. The second attempt to establish a new dynasty had failed. This abortive scheme was not without the suspicion of being a Jesuit intrigue to place a Catholic in disguise upon the Russian throne, with the design eventually of redeeming Russia from the orthodox to the Roman faith. If so, the attempt was foolish in the extreme.

Although Vassili Shuiski was now the logical candidate for the throne, he seems to have overlooked the pretensions of the zemski sobor to be consulted in the matter of succession. Being generally proclaimed by the inhabitants of Moscow, he assumed the throne in 1606. Open disaffection and revolt broke out on all sides. A second false Dmitri, commonly known as the Brigand of Tuchino, set up his standard in the south, and collected a large army of malcontents, many of whom were in correspondence with the King of Poland. To make headway against such opposition Shuiski contracted an alliance with Sweden, stipulating for the use of 5000 Swedish troops. The King of Poland, Sigismund, affected to see in the Swedish alliance a cause for open intervention, and took the fatal step of entering the lists for the throne of Muscovy. A Polish army crossed the frontier, made its way to Moscow, and installed itself in the Kremlin, making the Tsar Shuiski a prisoner. As if to crown the confusion, Sweden took offense at the action of the Poles, and since the Brigand of Tuchino had died, openly countenanced the pretensions of a third false Dmitri, at the same time extending still farther south the Swedish frontier in the Baltic provinces.

From this state of degradation Russia was saved by a popular rising. Stung by the insults of the Poles and Swedes, and weary of the general disorder, a popular national movement, filled with an almost crusading fervor, reasserted the dignity of the country and its institutions. The movement owed its direction in part to the clergy, and in part to a certain Minin, a butcher by trade, and his coadjutor, Prince Pojarski. Before the close of 1612 the Poles had been driven from the Kremlin, and the elements of disorder

1612-1645

quelled. Under the patriotic fervor which this national uprising had called forth, the zemski sobor met and elected to the throne the young prince Michael Romanov, then fifteen years of age. A dynasty, popular in its origin, brought peace to the distracted country, and ended the fifteen years of anarchy, a period known in Russian history as the "Troublous Times."

From the end of the Time of Troubles to the accession of Peter the Great is a period of about seventy-five years. Comparatively it is an era of quiet. The early Romanovs were men of only mediocre ability. As a family they first come into importance under Ivan the Terrible, when Anastasia Romanov became the wife of the tsar. The Romanovs were not among the greatest of the boyar families, a fact which contributed somewhat to the stability of their power, since it gave no occasion for the distracting jealousies which had thrown the rule of Godunov and Shuiski into anarchy. Philarete Romanov was metropolitan of Moscow during the Troubles, and he had distinguished himself both by moderation in his office and by his fidelity to the national cause. Soon after the election of his young nephew Michael as tsar, Philarete became patriarch, and it was largely the public confidence in him which gave stability to the new dynasty. Michael was succeeded in 1645 by Alexis, with whose accession we reach at last the father of Peter the Great.

Political interest during the years of the early Romanovs centers chiefly in the relations with Poland, and in the circumstances incident to the gradual colonization of the large stretch of country between the Oka, the Volga, and the Black Sea. Yet the Polish question, which must be construed in a general way to mean the question of western Russia, that is the part of old Russia which had been conquered by Lithuania, gives place in immediate importance to the relations with Sweden in the Baltic. The seventeenth century saw the attempt of Sweden to dominate the Baltic lands, to the exclusion, among others, of Russia. A glance at the map of the Baltic will reveal at once the danger to Russia. Ivan the Terrible, it will be remembered, had already failed to acquire a footing on the Baltic coast line at the expense of the Livonian Order. His attack produced a rearrangement of the provinces. Livonia passed to Poland, Courland became an independent duchy, and the Swedes took possession of Esthonia. Sweden, however, continued to push forward her frontier. In 1617 both Karelia

and Ingermannland passed out of Russian hands, and in 1629 Gustavus Adolphus acquired Livonia from Poland. Sweden thus held, on the eastern Baltic, a continuous coast line as far south as the Dwina, from which point the line was carried on by Courland. Sweden, therefore, was in possession of one of the principal objective points of Russian policy. This was the situation with which Peter the Great had to contend before he gave Russian territory a frontage on the Baltic. The long duel between himself and Charles XII. of Sweden ended, with the year 1721, in Russia acquiring Livonia, Esthonia, Ingermannland, and Karelia, thus gaining the long-coveted position upon the Baltic Sea.

On the Polish frontier, the Treaty of Andrussovo (1667) pushed the Russian line still farther to the west. With the exception of a long stretch in its middle course, the Dnieper now formed the dividing line between Russia and Poland as far south as the Zaporogian Cossacks. By this treaty, Kiev, the old capital, and reverently called the mother of Russian cities, stood once more within the confines of Russia proper. As the metropolis of Little Russia it has kept its importance even to the present day. Traces, however, of the Polish occupation still remain.

As to internal affairs, aside from disturbances incident to the colonization of lands south of the Oka, the early Romanovs had to face a schism in the church, the effects of which have been permanent. The Russian church, with slight exceptions, has been practically free from doctrinal disputes, and from conflicts over the relation between church and state. Following the tradition of the Byzantine emperors, the supremacy of the state over the church has been asserted and maintained. Ecclesiastical interest seems to have run to questions of ritual, rather than of doctrine, and the schism which rent the Russian communion in the seventeenth century really concerned what would appear to be quite minor points in the phraseology and orthography of the ritual. Into the text of the ritual there had crept certain variations from the originals of the early centuries. A party, headed by the Patriarch Nikon, favored going back to the oldest texts, in place of the traditional ones then in use. Through the influence of Nikon, the oldest texts were declared to be official, but to the less educated among the laity they had all the appearance of novelty. A large body of the church, both clergy and laity, refused to adopt the official text, and held firmly to the ritual as it had been before the change was

effected. They acquired the name of Old Ritualists. These textual variations, together with differences over details of ceremony—as, for example, the number of points or ends to the true cross, and the number of fingers to be raised by the priest in invocation—divided the church in two, so that henceforth there are Old Ritualists as distinguished from New Ritualists. The schism assumed a distinct political phase from the disaffection on the part of the Old Ritualists toward the state, as the official upholder of the altered ritual. This disaffection enters largely into the critical period of the year immediately preceding the accession of Peter, during the regency of Sophia.

Russia had developed in a manner peculiar to herself. In language, in religion, in political tradition she remained distinct from the community of western Christendom. It will be admitted readily that in general civilization she stood lamentably behind the sister states of the West. The contrast was felt more immediately in the direction of effective military strength. Until the army could be "westernized" and the navy created, the western frontier could never be safe from Sweden and Poland. But after the victory of Poltava, Russia takes her position among the military powers of the West. In every other direction, however, Russia faced people of inferior civilization, and over these she was gradually to extend her influence. This defiance of the West, while building up an empire in the East, forms the key to much of the political history which is to follow. Yet one cannot overlook the subtle influences which are already at work, at the time of Peter's accession, revolutionizing Russian society. Contact with the West and the influence of the foreign quarter in Moscow were doing much to displace the old Russian traditions with the intellectual and political ideas of the rest of Europe. From this ensues an internal conflict which is still being fought in Russian society, and which is undoubtedly of greater moment than questions of territorial expansion. The era of Peter the Great marks a crisis in the one as well as in the other.

Chapter II

THE ACCESSION OF PETER THE GREAT. 1676-1679

WHEN the Tsar Alexis died in 1676 he left two sons and four daughters by his first, and a son and daughter by his second, marriage. The proper successor to the throne was the eldest son Feodor, who was, however, as also was his next brother Ivan, of a very sickly constitution, and subject to epileptic fits. The second daughter, the Princess Sophia, was a woman of masculine character, and possessed both talent and energy. These qualities were the more remarkable because the life of women in Russian under the old régime was one of seclusion. Sophia found herself, at her father's death, with two sickly brothers, and a step-brother, the future Peter I., who was a child of little more than four years of age. She accordingly took upon herself to act as their guardian and to administer the empire as regent. She had hitherto been known only as a very dutiful daughter who had nursed her father with much tenderness during his last illness at Kolomenskoe, his favorite residence near Moscow. As regards her personal appearance, if we may judge from such portraits of her as have come down to us, she was a masculine-looking woman with strongly marked features.

Feodor, in whose name the regent acted, had a short and uneventful reign. The Zaporogian Cossacks, who in 1652 had given their allegiance to Russia, showed a certain amount of wavering in their fidelity and seemed inclined to transfer their services to Turkey. The Cossacks, who often figure in Russian and Polish annals, were the descendants of Russians, Poles, and Tatars who, being either outlaws or landless men, had betaken themselves to the vast territories lying between Russia, Poland, and the dominions of the Turks. No one has described these wild lands better than the Polish novelist Sienkiewicz in his spirited tale, "With Fire and Sword." As regards the word Cossack, which is an adaptation of Kazak, it is of Tatar origin and signifies a robber. When we first hear of these freebooters we find them divided into two great

1676-1682

families, settled respectively on the Don and the Dnieper. The Don Cossacks were subject to Russia certainly as early as the days of Ivan the Terrible. The Cossacks of the Dnieper were subject to the Poles, but their subjection was little more than a nominal one. They lived upon plunder, and sallying forth from some fortified islands on the Dnieper, where they had established their setch, or encampment, they carried desolation to the very walls of Constantinople. Of these Polish Cossacks we first hear in the time of King Stephen Bathory, who, perceiving what valuable frontier men they would make, organized them into regiments.

The Cossacks who dwelt on the Dnieper are sometimes called Zaporogian because they lived beyond the porogi or waterfalls. However satisfactorily these bold marauders may have arranged matters with Stephen Bathory, under the rule of Sigismund III. they could not very long endure the oppression of their Polish masters. To the other persecutions which they suffered was added the religious propaganda of the Jesuits, and thus they came to transfer their allegiance to the Russians in 1652.

Doroshenko, the hetman, as their chief was called, from the German *hauptman,* would not deliver up the city of Chigirin and twice summoned aid from the Turks. The Russian General Romodanovski drove the Mussulmans out of the southern part of Russia, but not before they had ravaged the country in merciless fashion. Finally Doroshenko was compelled to surrender the hetmanship to Samoilovich and died in obscurity in Russia. With him the glory of the Cossacks departed. Peace was concluded between Russia and the sultan in 1681.

The most important event, however, of the reign of Feodor was the destruction of the *rozriadnia knigi* or books of pedigrees. According to the institution of the *mestnistchestvo,* no man could fill an office inferior to any which his forefathers had held, or would accept a lower position than any man who counted fewer ancestors than himself. These continual questions of precedence weakened the administration, particularly of the army. Boris Godunov had, at the beginning of the century, formed plans for the abolition of the evil, but it was reserved for Feodor to put an end to it. He caused the books of pedigrees to be sent to him under the pretext of seeing if they were correct, and had them burned in his presence and that of the assembly.

The young tsar died without issue in 1682, and at his death

the country found itself in a somewhat critical state. The two chief factions of the court consisted of the Miloslavskis and the Narishkins, the relatives respectively of the first and second wife of Alexis. Besides these there was the powerful faction of the Galitzins. Ivan, the next to Feodor in order of succession, was an even greater invalid than his brother, and the Narishkin party maintained that he ought to be altogether set aside and Peter crowned in his place. According to the engineer, Perry, Feodor had bequeathed the succession to his younger brother Peter, because Ivan, by reason of the weakness of his eyes and the infirmity of his constitution, was unfit for the government.

This dispute furnished Sophia with her opportunity. Like other Russian women who were conspicuous during the early period in the realms of literature or politics, she succeeded in emancipating herself from the trammels of oriental tradition. Although only twenty-five years of age, she defied all traditional usages, and made her first appearance in public at the funeral of Feodor. At this time there were some men at the Russian court who might be styled more or less men of letters, and these encouraged Sophia in her aspirations.

She now placed herself at the head of a revolt, nominally in favor of her brother, and fomented an outbreak of the strelitz. These celebrated soldiers (the name is derived from *striela,* an arrow) were the prætorian cohorts of Russia. Mayerberg, who wrote an interesting book of travels toward the close of the seventeenth century, says of them: "The tsar has continually under arms 40,000 men for his guard, who are called strelitz by the Muscovites: the third of these he keeps about his person and the rest are sent to the fortified places on the frontier. Their colonels and captains have for their pay certain revenues assigned on the property of the tsar as a kind of life interest: besides this every year they receive clothes and money as presents."

The rebellion broke out on May 15, 1682. To the number of twenty thousand, followed by a vast crowd, the malcontents came into the precincts of the Kremlin. The widowed tsaritsa made her appearance on the famous Red Staircase, accompanied by Ivan and Peter. At first the mob showed signs of wavering. The infuriated soldiery were pacified by the speeches of the minister, Matveov, who had great influence owing to his connection with the tsaritsa, and by the exhortations of the patriarch. It

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seemed as if the riot was at an end, and that the malicious designs of the Miloslavskis had been frustrated. Unfortunately Michael Dolgoruki, who was chief of the prikaz or office of the strelitz, began abusing them for their seditious conduct. This infuriated them, and Dolgoruki was thrown upon the pikes of the rebels, at the foot of the Red Staircase. The strelitz then amused themselves with hunting down obnoxious persons amid cries of "*liubo li*," *i. e.*, "would you like to have them?" and on an answer being given in the affirmative, each miserable victim was quickly dispatched. The riots lasted three days. The Kremlin ran with the blood of some of the most illustrious houses in Russia. About seventy persons perished, including the benevolent Matveov, the great minister of Alexis and guardian of the tsaritsa; as did also her father Cyril and her brother Ivan. Seven days elapsed before the mutineers could be said to be completely pacified. How far Sophia was really privy to all this will probably never be known: certainly when the strelitz showed signs of coming to their senses they sent a deputation to say that they wished to have two tsars. Nothing of this sort of rule had been known in Russia. The brothers were to sit upon a double throne. The proclamation to this effect was made by the victorious soldiers, May 26, 1682. Sophia really was to govern in the name of her brothers.

Ivan, who was weak alike in mind and body, made no effort toward taking any part in the government, but left everything to his brother Peter. He enjoyed all the honors associated with his imperial rank, appearing to the people on triumphal occasions, and being present at the reception of foreign ambassadors. His name also figures with that of Peter in all state documents. On the death of Ivan in 1696, Peter, ruthless toward anyone who opposed his will, but always gracious to those who showed compliance, was left to govern alone under Sophia's regency.

Before long popular prejudice against the rule of a woman showed itself too strong to be resisted. Meanwhile Sophia fell under the influence of her favorite, Basil Galitzin, who is said even to have pretended to her hand.

Russia was now getting into closer touch with the West. In 1687 the Russians sent an embassy to the court of France; the ambassadors are said to have comported themselves very badly during their stay. Prosorovski was also sent as ambassador to England. Scotch adventurers had swarmed to Moscow from the

days of Ivan the Terrible. The false Dmitri had a bodyguard of Scotchmen, and in the reign of Michael Romanov had arrived as a soldier of fortune that Learmont who was to be the progenitor of the second greatest Russian poet, Michael Lermontov. Patrick Gordon, destined to become the great fellow-worker with Peter, first made his appearance in Russia in the reign of Alexis. He was one of those younger sons who left their native country because there was no calling open to them; any profession other than that of arms being held to be beneath the consideration of a gentleman. Gordon, the son of an Aberdeenshire laird, was born in Scotland in 1635. We are able to follow his fortunes because he has left a valuable diary; but as to the majority of his countrymen in the Russian service our information is of the scantiest. It is the doom of the mercenary soldier to be forgotten in his own country, and to be not very spontaneously mentioned in that of his adoption; for it is not an acceptable thought to a people that their deeds of national glory should have been initiated or shared in by foreigners.

After having been in both the Swedish and Polish services, and like a true Dugald Dalgetty, having freely transferred himself from one side to the other while they were fighting, Gordon arrived in Russia in 1661. Alexis, a worthy predecessor of Peter, was already looking ahead. The breath of regeneration was beginning to stir the country. Gordon had served in the Turkish war and had been raised to the rank of general by Feodor, the brother of Peter, but the important crisis of his life presented itself when he threw in his lot with the great regenerator of Russia. Gordon trained and commanded the new regiments which Peter formed.

In 1676 arrived another man also destined to write his name in the annals of Russia, the Genevese Lefort. He was born at Geneva in 1656. He assisted Peter in training his little army and became one of his most trusted officers. Undoubtedly he had great influence over the boy tsar, who, clever as he was, would naturally work up to models. He was not destined, however, to live to see all the glories of his pupil. Lefort in fact may be considered Peter's chief tutor. He told the boy striking stories of the countries he had visited, and made him understand the importance of ships. This led to the building of miniature vessels with masts, sails and guns, on the Pereislavski Lake near Moscow, and it was with these that the future ruler of Russia diverted himself. Under his direction several sham fights took place in which he commanded

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as captain. Thus a love of the sea was instilled in Peter, although we are told that at first he had a dread of salt water.

In 1687, while Peter, still a boy in years, was imbibing knowledge from every quarter, Sophia sent Basil Galitzin to conduct a campaign against the Tatars of the Crimea who were continually harrying the southern Russian provinces. Of this expedition, Gordon, who was quartermaster, has left us a circumstantial account. It fell to his lot to find the means of transport, to reconnoiter the line of advance, to make the roads and bridges, and to determine where the camp should be pitched for the night. The route lay over the steppes where the Tatars had abundance of light horse, so that the Russians were obliged to march in dense columns flanked by rows of wagons, so as to break the charges of the enemy. By the middle of June the army had reached the lower steppes of the Dnieper. The grass, however, was set on fire either by the Tatars, or, as was suspected, by the Cossack allies of the invading force, and the consequent dearth of forage for the horses compelled the Russians to retreat. The troops were soon afterward disbanded and thanked; and substantial rewards were bestowed upon the officers, Gordon being made general. But in consequence of the failure of the expedition Galitzin, and Sophia with him, became very unpopular. Several attempts were made to assassinate him, and once, on the eve of his departure upon one of his campaigns, a coffin with his name upon it was found placed by the door of his house.

Sophia also had become very unpopular in another way. Imbued with liberal ideas, as has been already mentioned, she had, among other things, favored the changes which Nikon had introduced into the sacred books, and which had led to the great schism in the Russian church. But the strelitz were *staro-obriadtsi,* adherents of the old ritual, and not disposed to welcome such changes. They broke out into another rebellion, which this time, however, was successfully checked, the ringleaders being executed. The more we read about Sophia the more struck we are with the vigor of her character and her bold efforts to escape from the monotony of an ordinary woman's life in Russia. She is one of the suppressed figures of history, one of the individuals against whom the fates were arrayed. Peter is said to have expressed often his admiration of her strong character.

On January 20, 1689, Peter, now in his seventeenth year, was

married to Evdokia (Eudoxia) Feodorovna Lopukhin. This union was destined to be unhappy, for reasons which will manifest themselves more clearly later. According to Father Avril, about this time Peter was seized with an attack of the falling sickness, a disease which the worthy priest declares to have been hereditary in his family. Of the convulsive seizures of Peter we shall shortly hear more. Two children were the issue of the marriage: a son, the unfortunate Alexis, and a daughter, who died in infancy. If we may trust the portraits which have come down to us, Evdokia was not a woman of great personal attractions.

The renewal of the war against the Tatars was now resolved upon, and in February Gordon was told to get matters in readiness. He was first required to furnish plans of the military lines of defense on the Dnieper, and to make certain other arrangements. Having discharged these duties to the great satisfaction of the court, he set out to join the army, acting, as before, in the capacity of quartermaster general. By the end of May he had conducted it as far as Perekop, when the expedition was declared to be too hazardous, and the army was ordered to return. Rewards were again distributed among the officers, but not without strong opposition on the part of Peter. The latter treated Gordon with marked distinction, and gave him a glass of brandy with his own hands, which was considered one of the highest compliments which the sovereign could pay.

Soon after this the young tsar was apprised of a plot against his life, the details of which are meager. At midnight, on August 16, Peter was told that orders had been issued from the Kremlin to march upon the village of Preobrazhenskoe, where he and his favorites used to reside, and to put certain persons to death. He instantly leaped from his bed, took the first horse he could find in the stables, and galloped into a wood, where he hid himself till joined by some of his attendants. He then rode in hot haste to the monastery of the Troitsa (Trinity), about forty miles from Moscow, which he reached about six o'clock in the morning. Here he threw himself upon a bed, and sought the protection of the igumen.

The great duel between Peter and his ambitious sister was now to be fought out. Peter summoned the strelitz and other troops to join him at the monastery of the Troitsa, but the regent issued counter orders. The tsar thereupon addressed a written

1689-1690

command to his foreign officers, in which he declared that there was a conspiracy against his life. Gordon undertook to show this paper to Galitzin, and to ask him what was to be done. The latter said he would consult the elder tsar and the Princess Sophia. To which Gordon replied that if he and his brother-officers were to disobey their heads would be in danger. Galitzin assured him that he should have an answer before night, and desired that Gordon's son-in-law, Colonel Strasburg, might be left behind to take it. Gordon now thoroughly realized the situation. He went home and immediately began to prepare for marching. When the other officers arrived, he told them that whatever orders might come from the Kremlin he would set out for the monastery that night. They resolved to follow his example, and by the next day all had reached the monastery. The young tsar was at his midday dinner when their arrival was announced. Gordon was at once admitted to his presence and ordered to keep by his side, while the other officers remained with their regiments outside the monastery. This conduct upon Gordon's part gained for him gratitude; and the heretic general was destined to die in the arms of his august master, who mourned for him as his most faithful friend.

Four days afterward Peter entered Moscow in triumph, and the trial of the conspirators began. Shakloviti, chief of the strelitz, was tortured and beheaded, together with many others; the tsar's reluctance to shed blood having been overcome by the patriarch. Galitzin owed his life to the intercession of a relative, being exiled with his son to Yarensk, in the government of Vologda. His estates were confiscated, and he died in the government of Archangel in 1713. The Princess Sophia was sent to a convent, where she took the name of Susannah; and there she died after a seclusion of fifteen years.

Peter was now absolute master of the situation, as the weak-minded Ivan readily resigned all authority into his hands. The revolution was in every way complete; it had been triumphantly carried out by the energetic Scotch adventurer. Henceforward we find Gordon on the most cordial and intimate terms with the tsar, and constantly with him. In 1690 he heads a deputation from the regiments to congratulate Peter on the birth of his son, the unfortunate Alexis; and when Gordon's daughter, Mary, was married to Captain Daniel Crawford, Peter graced the nuptial ceremony with his presence.

Peter was now beginning to entertain plans for getting an outlet to the sea, a plan which the cruel but astute Ivan the Terrible had aimed at when he endeavored to get hold of Livonia. Without some ice-free port Russia could not develop her commerce, and was at the mercy of Pole, Swede, and Turk. War was declared against Turkey in 1695, and Gordon was ordered to march upon Azov.

Gordon reached Azov on March 27, and two days afterward was joined by the tsar and Alexei Shein, the commander in chief. Menshikov, the celebrated favorite of Peter, and Sheremetiev, one of his most renowned generals, were also with him. Sheremetiev was dispatched to the Dnieper with a separate force, in order to draw off the Tatars from Azov, by threatening them with an attack in the Crimea. Sheremetiev laid siege to Kizi-Kermen (now Berislavl) on July 6, and forced it to surrender. Three other Turkish fortresses capitulated without fighting. The Cossacks reconnoitered as far as Ochakov. Toward the middle of June Azov was invested. In July the besieged made a sally on Gordon's division, but were repulsed. During the following night a Dutchman or German, as he has been styled, named Jansen, went over to the Turks and betrayed to them the weak points of the Russian lines. The next sally was in consequence directed against Lefort's quarter, and was almost successful; the division was saved from destruction only by the opportune interposition of Gordon. In August two other assaults were made, against the advice of Gordon, and were both repulsed. The siege had to be raised, and the tsar with his generals returned to Moscow in October. The expedition of Sheremetiev, however, was not altogether fruitless, as it paved the way for another attack on Azov in the following year. Sheremetiev founded a new fortress on the Island of Tavan, in the Dnieper.

In 1696, the year in which Ivan died, Gordon was again marching upon Azov at the head of about 15,000 infantry. The second siege began in June, and Sheremetiev was again sent to the Dnieper to create a diversion. The place was eventually taken the same year by Gordon's plan of filling up the ditch and making a huge rampart of earth in front of the town.[1] Jansen, the renegade Dutchman, was surrendered, although to save himself he had

[1] The method of the siege has been described by Alexander Gordon, the son-in-law of Gordon, in his "History of Peter the Great" (Aberdeen, 1755).

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turned Mussulman. The victorious army returned in triumph to Moscow on October 9. The tsar made a gorgeous procession through the streets of the capital, and Jansen, who was carried tied to a gallows, was immediately afterward put to death. From the fall of Azov may be said to date the active interference of the Russians in Turkey. As a result of this policy, the rayas felt their condition much improved, for hitherto none of the Christian powers had offered them any succor. Indeed, it had at one time seemed probable that all the Christian subjects of the Porte would be converted to Islam.

In the succeeding year, 1697, Peter began his travels in western Europe. He had long been maturing this plan. Peter set out upon his journey practically incognito, under the name of Peter Mikhailov, and in the capacity of one of the suite of the three ambassadors, Lefort, Golovin, and Voznitsin. Such a step was, indeed, a breaking with the past; for among the earlier Russians to evince any desire for travel was to commit a crime. The party proceeded through Riga to Mittau; at Königsberg Peter had an interview with the Elector of Prussia. He passed, however, rapidly through Berlin, and by degrees he reached Saardam, in Holland, being probably attracted to that country by its celebrity as a maritime power. In Holland Peter worked at the dockyard under the name of Peter Baas, or Master Peter; and here Menshikov labored with him. On this, his first journey, Menshikov shared in all his master's labors and amusement. Peter being a magnetic man, had a wonderful way of assimilating all the good material around him. Everywhere he displayed an insatiable curiosity. The certificate of efficiency in various handicrafts which Peter received from the head of the dockyard, one Gerrit Claesz Pool, is still preserved.

He next visited England, being, it is said, induced to do so by one John Fessing, an Englishman, whom he met. The young tsar crossed the Channel in 1698. He had already met William III. at The Hague.

Peter especially liked the society of the Marquis of Carmarthen, who at a later period became Duke of Leeds, on account of his nautical skill, "and would row and sail with him upon the water," adds Perry, the engineer, "of which obligations and kindness of my Lord Marquis to him I have many times heard him speak with great affection." Peter always expressed admiration

for England. He worked for a short time at Deptford, where the government hired for him Sayes Court, the seat of the famous John Evelyn.

For our account of Peter's visit to England we are chiefly indebted to the English newspapers of the time, the *Postmaster,* the *Postman,* and the *Postboy,* and some notices in private letters. In London a large house was taken for Peter and his suite in York Buildings; these premises have been pulled down since. Peter, however, disliked all ceremony and kept himself retired as much as possible. Nothing seems to have annoyed him so much as to be stared at. Some Quakers, however, contrived to see him and had a conversation with him through his interpreter. Peter put the practical question to them as to what use could be made in a country of people who declined to bear arms. Indeed, in the *Molokani* the Russians have the same sort of enthusiasts to deal with.

When he was at Deptford William Penn also went to see him and had a long conversation with him. Peter is said to have had a great respect for the Quakers, and we are told that on more than one occasion he visited their meeting-house. The tsar also went to the theater, the representations at which, owing to his not being acquainted with English, must have been a mere spectacle and empty pageant to him; the play which he witnessed was "The Rivae Queens, or Alexander the Great," by Nathaniel Lee. He is said, in company with Menshikov and some other persons of his suite, to have frequently visited a public-house on Tower Hill, where he could unmolested smoke and drink brandy, which, according to some accounts, he was fond of peppering.

When he left England, the keeper of the tavern, proud of his imperial guest, had his portrait painted and hung up as the sign of the inn. Here it remained for a long time until, its existence becoming known to them, it was purchased as a curiosity by the Russian Government, and now ornaments the public library of St. Petersburg.

Although his visit to Oxford is so wanting in significance, it was in this city and in this year that the first Russian grammar was printed. It was written in Latin by a certain Henry Ludolf, nephew of Job Ludolf, the Ethiopic scholar. If Peter did not carry away from England any constitutional ideas, which indeed would have been a difficult study for him, he took with him those

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notions of curbing the authority of the church which he afterward embodied in the Reglament, or regulations of the church.

The impression created by Peter upon the English with whom he was brought into contact seems to have been varied. We are told that William III. admired Peter and was very fond of conversing with him, which he was able to do with tolerable freedom, as the Russian tsar spoke Dutch. Burnet's opinion of him has often been quoted. The bishop says: "He wants not capacity and has a larger knowledge than might be expected from his education." On the whole, Burnet had not much insight into the character of this remarkable man, and evidently had no idea of the great part he was about to play. At the request of William III. Sir Godfrey Kneller painted the portrait of Peter, which is now at Hampton Court. It is a very characteristic picture, and is said to be an excellent likeness. It shows a spirited, bright-looking young man with very expressive eyes. It may be taken undoubtedly as the most correct representation of Peter, as he never afterward had his portrait painted by such an eminent and sympathetic hand.

Perry says that Peter during his stay in England occupied himself chiefly with nautical matters. He often worked in Deptford Yard as he had done in Holland, and so curious was he in everything mechanical that he even caused the model of an English coffin to be sent to Russia. When he visited the palace of William III. he paid no attention to the pictures, but only to an ingenious contrivance for ascertaining the direction of the wind. While he was in England, we are told, he used to dress himself after the English fashion, sometimes as a gentleman and sometimes as a seaman. To the Marquis of Carmarthen, who had been very courteous to him in conducting him about, he gave a duty of five shillings upon every hogshead of tobacco imported into Russia. The herb had previously been forbidden by the patriarch. "To this day," adds Perry, "a priest will not come into any room where tobacco is smoked."

William III. arranged a sham sea-fight at Spithead for the benefit of his visitor. When Peter departed from England he took with him many persons who were to enter the Russian service—engineers, mechanics, mathematicians, soldiers, and sailors—many Englishmen and more Scots. The latter in many instances were destined to bequeath their names in forms more or less changed to Russian descendants.

Peter's example as a traveler in search of information was followed by Sheremetiev, the boyar of ancient family who was destined to occupy such a prominent position during this reign. He, as much as his master, was smitten with a reforming zeal, and like him resolved to educate himself. Notwithstanding his high rank, and his forty-five years, his duties as blizhni boyarin, *i. e.,* boyar in close attendance upon the tsar, and his former high duties as general of the army, and minister, Sheremetiev volunteered to travel and learn the art of war.

He went to study the naval armaments of the Maltese against the Ottomans and himself paid the expenses of his journey. In the same year as his imperial master, May, 1697, Sheremetiev left Moscow with a small suite. He took with him letters of recommendation from the tsar. As a Russian nobleman he appeared at the audiences of the King of Poland, the Emperor Leopold, the Doge of Venice, Pope Innocent XI., the Duke of Tuscany, Cosmo III., and made them liberal presents of sables, arms, and horses, and received rich gifts from them in return. He everywhere noted down what he thought remarkable. Among other things which greatly impressed him were St. Peter's at Rome, and Vesuvius. From Sicily he sailed to Malta. Here the knights met him with great ceremony. He was decorated with a Maltese Cross set in diamonds, and, although married, made Knight of Malta. After an absence of two years, during which he served on board the Maltese fleet, he returned to Moscow and appeared before Peter dressed in a French coat with a Maltese Cross on his breast. His journey had cost him 20,000 rubles. The tsar was in ecstasies with his trusty and dear Sheremetiev, and from that time he became one of the chief favorites.

On the occasion of his first journey in the West Peter did not visit France; he had not been successful in his diplomatic efforts in Holland, one of which was to induce the states general to assist him in a war against the Turks. He turned, however, to Austria and was well received in Vienna. From there his original plan was to proceed to Venice that he might study some new forms of shipbuilding, but tidings reached him of the revolt of the strelitz. A great insurrection of the mutinous troops and others disaffected to the new régime had broken out; had it not been for the energy of Gordon the matter would have probably ended in the dethronement of Peter. After various attempts had been made by the for-

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mer to bring the mutineers to their senses, he directed his troops to fire, and several were killed. The rest submitted, and many prisoners were shut up in the monasteries. On being examined the ringleaders confessed that they had intended to march upon Moscow, to massacre certain of the boyars, and to demand increase of pay and new regulations of service. Without waiting for Peter's return, Gordon began beheading and hanging, and in many cases had resort to torture. He records in his diary that, with few exceptions, those executed submitted to their fate with great indifference, crossing themselves in silence; though some bade farewell to the bystanders.

Peter reached Moscow by September 2, and Gordon's diary soon begins again to tell of executions and imprisonment. Great cruelties were inflicted upon the unhappy adherents of the old régime, who were hanged and beheaded in considerable numbers. For a long time the reactionaries were silenced, but they were certainly not quelled, and we continue to hear of occasional outbreaks until the death of Peter.

In the following year, 1699, Gordon died, at the age of sixty-four, and was honored by the tsar with a public funeral. The body was conducted to the grave by twenty-eight colonels. His very interesting diary in six volumes, two of which have unfortunately been lost, has never been printed in its entirety, but is still preserved among the archives of the Russian Foreign Office. Portions have appeared in German, edited by Dr. Posselt and selections were published in English for the Spalding Club in 1859; these, however, are chiefly from those parts of the diary which relate to Scotland. Gordon was buried in the Roman Catholic church in the foreign quarter in Moscow, which church he had himself been mainly instrumental in building. The same year as Gordon, died also Lefort, who had accompanied Peter on his first journey in the capacity of chief ambassador. The remains of Lefort were buried in the Lutheran church, also in the foreign quarter, but no trace of his tomb can now be found. He was some twenty years younger than Gordon, being only forty-three at the time of his death.

Chapter III

THE CONFLICTS WITH CHARLES XII. OF SWEDEN
1699-1713

THE duel between Peter and Charles XII. was now to begin. Peter had thoroughly realized the need of an outlet to the sea. He had partially succeeded at Azov, and was now to try his luck in the Baltic, which was at that time practically a Swedish lake. Sweden possessed in fact Finland, Ingermannland (or Ingria), Esthonia, Livonia, and Pomerania. Peter cast longing eyes upon the Baltic provinces, and was eager for an opportunity of carrying into effect the schemes which had been cherished by Ivan IV., and by his father Alexis. Such an opportunity was soon forthcoming. John Reinhold Patkul, who was destined subsequently to expiate, in so cruel a manner, his efforts in behalf of his native province, had been deputed by the Livonian nobles to carry a complaint to Charles XI., the father of the celebrated Swedish king. The king affected to receive the petition with favor, but in a few days caused Patkul to be declared guilty of high treason, and condemned to death. Patkul, however, escaped, and thenceforward set himself to wreak vengeance upon the oppressor. He proposed to Augustus II. of Poland a plan by which Sweden should be simultaneously attacked on all sides. Poland was to take Livonia and Esthonia; Russia, Ingria and Karelia; and Denmark, Holstein.

In 1697 Charles XI., who had ruled Sweden as an absolute monarch, died at the early age of forty-two. He left three children, the eldest of whom (born in 1682, and declared of age in 1699) succeeded him as Charles XII. The character of this monarch is well known; he seemed born for war. His army had been brought to a state of perfect discipline, and he could count upon many able and experienced generals. He now declared war against Peter.

The campaign opened, on the part of the Russians, with the siege of Narva, in Ingria. This place was besieged by a force of

PETER THE GREAT LEARNS THE SHIPWRIGHT'S TRADE AT ZAARDAM

Painting by Felix Cogen

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60,000 men, under the command of the Duke de Croy, a foreigner who had entered the service of the tsar. A battle took place on November 30, 1700. The conduct of the Russian tsar on this occasion has been the subject of much controversy. It is more than difficult to attribute cowardice to one who habitually showed such carelessness of his own life. One thing, however, is certain: he absented himself from the battle. It has been conjectured that he had gone in quest of additional troops. The army brought together in front of Narva was little more than a disorderly rabble, consisting of a few regular regiments, which were lost among an overwhelming majority of strelitz and other old-fashioned troops. Besides the Duke de Croy, who had seen a good deal of service under the German emperor, there were among the Russian generals Dolgoruki, Golovin, Buturlin, and Alexander, Prince of Imeretia.

The Russian General Sheremetiev was also present at the beginning of the siege. Relying on his boldness, carefulness, and skill, Peter at first appointed him to assist Prince Dolgoruki, the generalissimo, but afterward gave him an independent command of cavalry, with which Sheremetiev was to watch the movements of Charles, and give the Russians notice of his entering the province. The Swedish king was then marching more rapidly than was supposed to the relief of Narva. On November 10 Sheremetiev had a trifling victory at Purtsi, about nine miles from Narva, and gave information of the approach of the Swedes. The tsar left the camp at Narva on November 29, Sheremetiev being ordered to guard the passes in front of the town. The Russians had still to learn the art of war sufficiently to enable them to encounter disciplined troops. This first battle of Narva was to be a rude shock for them. Sheremetiev had shown much bravery in his battles with the Turks, but he dared not meet the terrible Swedes, the more so as he had been informed of the disorder in the Russian camp, where, in the absence of Peter, great want of discipline prevailed. The Duke de Croy is said to have been a confirmed drunkard. On the first attack of the enemy, Sheremetiev left the passes and hastily came to the camp with his regiment. A military council was then held. Sheremetiev offered to leave the camp and to meet the Swedes in the field, where the superior numbers of the Russians might give them a chance of victory. But the others would not listen to him. The Swedes drew near. Everything was in a state of confusion. Foreseeing the fatal issue, Sheremetiev hastened to cross the river

with his regiment. In doing so he lost many men, but finally reached Novgorod, where Peter was, and where he found Menshikov, who had left the camp together with the tsar.

Peter felt the reverse keenly, and thus writes about it in his journal: "It is incontestable that the Swedes gained a victory over our troops, who were as yet only an undisciplined militia, for in this action there was only one old regiment, *viz.*, that which was called Lefortovski [and which before that time had been called the Shepelevski regiment], two regiments of the guards, who had only been to the two sieges of Azov, and had never fought in the open field, to say nothing of fighting with regular troops. As regards the other regiments, with the exception of some colonels, the officers and soldiers were only recruits, as has been previously said. To this must be added the scarcity of provisions caused by the bad season which prevented them from being brought up, so that one may say that it was rather child's play than a serious affair where skill was employed. It is not therefore astonishing that veteran troops, who had been practiced and tried in the art of war, should have got the upper hand over such as we represent ours to be. It is true, however, that this victory caused us a very sensible annoyance, and made us despair of better luck in the future. It was even looked upon as a mark of the extreme wrath of God; but when attempting to estimate the designs of Providence it may be seen that they were favorable to us; for if we had then gained a victory over the Swedes, who were so well trained in the arts of war and politics, into what an abyss of prosperity might it not have dragged us afterward? On the other hand, this prosperity of the Swedes cost them very dear at Poltava, although they had such skill and reputation that the French used to call them the scourge of the Germans. We, after this terrible check, which was a true piece of good luck for us, were obliged to redouble our activity, and to make every effort to compensate by watchfulness for the want of experience; and it was thus that the war was continued." There would seem to be considerable doubt as to the number of troops engaged at this famous battle. Peter says: "And thus there perished of our men from 5800 to 6000 in the siege, the trenches, the battlefield, and the River Narva." The irregular cavalry lost some men in fording the river. According to this statement of Peter, the Russian troops who reached Novgorod from Narva amounted to 22,967. The historians of the

1701

time, however, declare that the tsar had before Narva an army of 80,000 men, and they make his loss amount to 10,000 at the least. According to Peter's journal, the Swedes had 18,000 men, but this is considered by many to be a gross exaggeration.

Seeing that important sections of the army were allowed to leave the field of operations, we cannot wonder that the battle of Narva resulted in one of the most complete routs ever inflicted on the Russians. They capitulated, but were allowed to carry off their arms, standards, and baggage; the artillery being surrendered, with the exception of six guns. Besides those taken prisoners, the Russians lost 6000 men, and the Swedes 2000.

Sheremetiev had been one of the earliest to bring Peter tidings of the disaster; however, when the first outbursts of wrath and vexation were over, he was justified by the tsar. The latter departed to Moscow, and left Sheremetiev in command of the armies in Novgorod and Pskov, which guarded the Russian frontier. As one result of this great victory, the Swedes were enabled to occupy both Warsaw and Cracow, as they had done once before in the preceding century. Peter, as we have said, has been roundly accused of cowardice in connection with this battle, and of deserting his men on the eve of the conflict. But he may well have been in perplexity with such difficulties besetting him on every side. Certainly, if we study his character carefully, he would seem to have been careless of his own life, rather than of a timid nature. The reader must judge for himself by the light of subsequent events.

Be this as it may, we find Peter soon recovering his self-possession, carefully training himself and his army, and finally marching to victory. When he had strengthened his resources by fresh levies of troops, he arranged a new plan of campaign. Sheremetiev was ordered to defend Pskov, and to send Cossacks to devastate Livonia, the absence of the Swedish king in Courland having left the province at Peter's mercy. Operations were at once to be commenced against the Swedish troops, who had remained in Livonia, under the command of General Schlippenbach.

Meanwhile Menshikov was employed in reorganizing the Russian military system, in providing artillery and military stores, and in putting the frontiers into a state of defense. This gave Menshikov his opportunity, and he profited by it. The tsar in his letters calls him by the familiar name of Aleksasha, his dear friend,

his brother, the son of his heart, and uses other equally tender expressions. In fact, he and Sheremetiev were now Peter's chief friends and advisers.

Sheremetiev was in command of three regiments, in which, however, he could place but little confidence. Two of these regiments suffered defeat at the hands of the Swedes, but the third, which was led by Michael, the son of Sheremetiev, defeated them at Rapino on September 16. Three standards and eighty prisoners were taken. Peter was much encouraged by this first success of the Russian arms, though he heard with dissastisfaction that Sheremetiev had halted on the expedition. The Swedes had deservedly so great a reputation as soldiers that it cannot be wondered at if the raw, untrained Russian levies were overawed by them. The tsar renewed his orders to Sheremetiev to go on devastating the Swedish territory. "Do not have the impudence to refuse," wrote the tsar, "and if you are still suffering from the fever caught at Narva, I can cure it. Go and carry out my orders." Sheremetiev, however, wanted soldiers and arms, and still hesitated. "Everything you want has been sent; why do you delay and refuse to carry out my orders?" wrote the tsar; "I am venturing myself not only into the claws but into the very jaws of the enemy, and yet I do not fear." At length—but not till the winter—Sheremetiev sallied forth from Pskov with 8000 cavalry, 5000 infantry, and 15 guns. On January 10, 1702, Schlippenbach with 7000 Swedes was defeated in a regular battle at Ehrestfer, near Dorpat. Of the Swedes 3000 were killed, so obstinately did they fight; 350 were taken prisoners; 4 guns and 8 flags were captured. Sheremetiev burned the suburbs of Dorpat, sent out his troops to devastate the surrounding country, and returned in the spring to Pskov. The joy of Peter at this success knew no bounds. "We beat the Swedes," he said, "because we have just double the number of soldiers, but we will learn to beat them with equal numbers." The reward of the commander was the rank of field-marshal. The tsar ordered him to bring the Swedish prisoners and the trophies to Moscow. Sheremetiev entered the capital in triumph amid universal rejoicings, and finally received the Order of St. Andrew.

Having made arrangements for a fresh campaign on a large scale for the year 1702, the tsar again ordered Sheremetiev to commence operations. He once more invaded Livonia, and destroyed the Swedish flotilla on Lake Peipus, obtaining possession of

1702

Sirensk. With 30,000 men Sheremetiev attacked Schlippenbach, who had only 7000, and was posted near Hummelsdorf. The Swedes were again beaten, and lost 15 guns and 16 standards. The whole Swedish army was now scattered. Russian troops scoured the country in every direction; they took Menzen, and compelled the strong fortress of Marienburg to surrender. Because the Swedes had not observed the conditions imposed, the town was given over to plunder. In the same way were treated Wenden, Wolmar, Helmet, Karkus, and Wesenberg. One cannot but shudder to think of the fate of the peasants on these occasions; men of what are called inferior races—Finns and Letts—bandied about from conqueror to conqueror, but upon whom the real terrors of war rested far more heavily than upon the two heroes who were continuing to fight their duel. Everywhere might be seen the traces of conflagrations. Thousands of the inhabitants, we are told, were taken captive to Russia. For centuries these miserable people had suffered, as we know from the gloomy records of the times of Ivan IV. We have only to read the quaint memoirs of Prince Kurbski—one of the most interesting literary monuments of that century—to get a dreary catalogue of massacres. We only hear of them because Kurbski is upbraiding his former master for his cruelties. The Swedes were now so disheartened that it was no easy matter to force them to a battle. One was at length fought almost under the walls of Riga. "Boris Petrovich," said Peter, "has had a good time of it in Livonia. He has taken two considerable cities and seven small ones, and also 12,000 prisoners." In this way, while Charles XII. was fighting in Poland, the Russians drove the Swedes out of the Baltic provinces.

Sheremetiev's report after the surrender of Marienburg was to the effect that the Russians had plundered the environs of the city, had burned 600 villages, and driven off 20,000 head of cattle. They consumed all the provisions they could, and what they could not carry away they destroyed. The miserable serfs, although owned by German masters, were quite as badly treated as the Polish peasants. It was at Marienburg that Martha Skavronskaya was found, the singular woman whom the great Peter afterward made his wife. She is variously said by some authorities to have been the widow of a Swedish officer, by others of a private soldier, and had been brought up by Glück, a Protestant pastor. The tsar afterward met her at the house of Menshikov.

Sheremetiev, who had returned to Pskov on September 21, was now ordered by the tsar to join him at Noteburg, whither the latter had gone from Archangel. This he did on October 4, and Noteburg was occupied the same year. The Island of Noteburg is situated in Lake Ladoga, out of which the Neva flows. It had originally been Slavonic, and had been taken by the Swedes. Peter changed the name of the place to Schlüsselburg, as being the key to the Neva, and this name it has kept to the present day. After the taking of Noteburg Sheremetiev spent the winter at Pskov, and in the spring of the year 1703 again moved toward the Neva.

During his absence at Archangel Peter had left the management of affairs to Menshikov. The latter distinguished himself at Noteburg, and was accordingly appointed commandant of that important post. When Menshikov appeared to tender his thanks, "You have no reason to thank me," said the tsar; "it is a matter of public expediency. It was not my friendship for you that guided me in the choice; and if any other person had been more worthy than you, I would have chosen him." Menshikov's career of promotion, however, may be dated from that time.

Having returned to Pskov, Sheremetiev obtained possession of Koperie and Yamburg, and went to Narva. There he renewed the terrible devastation which he had formerly committed in the Swedish territory. In the winter he was summoned by the tsar to the grand festival at Moscow, and took part with the other heroes in a triumphal entry into the capital. In the following spring Peter ordered him to lay siege to Dorpat. Now, however, Sheremetiev ventured to question the orders of his imperial master. Peter told him to begin at once, while he himself was superintending the siege of Narva. "Do not be making any contradictory remarks, or asking for any explanations. Carry out what I tell you, or you will be in the wrong." So wrote the tsar. Sheremetiev accordingly set out from Pskov with 20,000 men, and took possession of the Swedish flotilla on Lake Peipus. He then began the siege of Dorpat on June 17. The impatient tsar, however, once more grew dissatisfied with the protracted siege, and came in person from the camp at Narva. "I found nothing going on here," wrote Peter; "they have thrown 2000 bombs into the city to no purpose." Dorpat eventually surrendered after the assault of July 24.

1704

Some time previously Peter had appointed Menshikov the governor general of the city of St. Petersburg, which was now rising amid the Finnish marshes. Menshikov had been with the tsar when he laid the foundations of the fortress of Petropavlovski, and was now occupied with the building and settlement of the new city destined to be the capital of Russia. One of the bastions of the fortress of St. Petersburg was named after him. The build-

ing of the fortress of Kronstadt, to which provisions were brought across the frozen Gulf of Finland, together with the protection of St. Petersburg from the Finns, kept Menshikov fully occupied. Although Peter lived himself in a modest house, he built a large one for Menshikov on the Vasilievski Ostrov, where now stands the building occupied by the first cadet corps. Here the receptions took place, and audience was given to ambassadors; here foreigners were magnificently entertained, victories were fêted, and many

noisy festivities held. Numerous stories of the great drinking bouts have been told by those who visited the palace of Menshikov, which was resplendent with silver, gold, and rich furniture. He who had first attracted the notice of his master in such a humble capacity thus came to be one of the foremost men in Russia.

In the year 1705 Peter entered upon his personal struggle with Charles XII., and moved his forces into Poland. Sheremetiev was awaiting the tsar in Polotsk. Peter ordered him to move into Courland, which was soon occupied.

Charles XII. deferred his invasion of Russia, and next year moved his army into Saxony, concluding with Augustus II. the Treaty of Altranstadt in 1706. Here we must pause for a moment to speak of the Treaty of Altranstadt. Charles had really carried everything before him. He had forced Augustus to sign this treaty. At this time there seemed great probability of an alliance being formed between France and Sweden, as the former was looking for an ally after the humiliation she had recently undergone at the hands of Marlborough. By the treaty made at Altranstadt, near Leipsic, Charles XII. compelled Augustus to surrender Patkul to him. How far Augustus was unwilling to give up the refugee is uncertain. The unfortunate Livonian was dragged about to different places by Charles, and finally broken on the wheel at Casimir (Kazmierz). A terrible account of his execution has been left by Lorens Hager, the Protestant clergyman, who attended him on the scaffold. It is said that Charles wrote out with his own hand the minute orders for his punishment, and was very angry with the Swedish officer present at the execution for causing the agonies of Patkul to be too quickly brought to an end by decapitation. Charles really remained six years in Poland and had forced Augustus to abdicate the Polish crown and to recognize Stanislaus Leczinski as king in his stead. He thereby had left his rival with a free hand in the Baltic provinces.

In the autumn of 1707 he turned from Poland to Russia. The tsar had the army of Sheremetiev moved to Minsk, and went himself to St. Petersburg. Charles thought to deceive the watchfulness of the tsar by a decisive blow in the winter. He marched rapidly into Lithuania. Peter was counseled to fight on the Russian frontier, but he followed the advice of Sheremetiev in the council of war which was held.

The Swedes were victorious in the battle of Golovchino on

1708

July 14, although Sheremetiev managed to retreat in good order. The policy of both generals was continually to devastate the country before the advancing host. When Löwenhaupt, the Swedish general, came out of Riga, the tsar took the command himself, leaving Sheremetiev to follow Charles into Little Russia, and to cut off his supplies. Charles now crossed the Beresina, afterward destined to play so important a part in the wars of Napoleon, and had his first encounter with the Russians at Dobroe, south of Smolensk. Mazeppa, the hetman of the Ukraine, was, according to the plans arranged by the Russians, to have joined them, but in reality he had been negotiating with Charles, and he now wasted a great deal of time in indecision. He had long been hesitating as to which side he should attach himself, and only after a considerable interval joined Charles, when his nephew Voinarovski had brought him gloomy accounts of the treatment which the Cossacks might look to receive at the hands of Peter.

Up to that time Mazeppa had affected to be in sympathy with the tsar; he had joined him at the siege of Azov, and had sent Cossack regiments to Volhynia and Lithuania to assist Augustus of Poland; he had even lavishly contributed funds in support of his cause, and Peter was so convinced of his devotion that he handed over Kochubei and Iskra, two enemies of Mazeppa, to be punished by him. They were both executed. Mazeppa, although now an elderly man, was enamored of the daughter of Kochubei, and readers of Russian poetry will remember how Pushkin has interwoven this story with his spirited narrative and description of the battle of Poltava. The secret agreement between Stanislaus, the rival of Augustus, and Mazeppa was that on the entry of Charles into Russian territory all the Cossack regiments should join him and should thenceforth remain tributary to Poland; he himself was to receive Witebsk and Polotsk, in which the Duke of Courland was to transfer to him all his rights. Peter, who knew nothing of this conspiracy, concluded that Charles would attack him from Livonia. He therefore concentrated all his forces on the banks of the Dwina, and in compliance with the views of the council of war which he convened, decided to adopt a strictly defensive attitude. He determined not to be drawn into a decisive engagement with the enemy; he knew very well that his soldiers could not cope with the tried veterans of Charles. His tactics were very similar to those pursued toward the invaders who entered the coun-

try a little more than a hundred years later. He resolved to build a chain of fortresses in order to obstruct the enemy's marches; to prevent his passage of the rivers; to devastate the territory which he must traverse so as to prevent his getting supplies; and further, to harass him by a series of petty battles. With this view he ordered a line of ditches and ramparts to be constructed from Pskov to Briansk; he strengthened the fortifications of Smolensk, Pskov, Novgorod, and even Moscow, and ordered the villagers on the first approach of the enemy to destroy all the crops and betake themselves to the fortresses. Meanwhile he enlisted as soldiers all the available men of the country. It was, in fact a levée *en masse*.

Three routes lay open to Charles: through Novgorod, Smolensk, and the Ukraine. If he chose the first route, he could combine with his generals Löwenhaupt and Lübecker, and thus act with his whole force. But in that case he must first take Novgorod, and traverse a region of forests and barren soil where the Russians would be able to hamper him at every step. The second route by Smolensk was also unsuitable because it would not permit of his coöperating with Löwenhaupt; the third route separated him even farther from the corps stationed in Livonia and Finland; but this disadvantage was more than compensated by his being able to rely upon the assistance of Mazeppa and by the rising in Little Russia and in the region of the Don. Aid, too, had been promised by the Khan of the Crimea; perhaps even support might be coming from the Sultan of Turkey, who was being urged by the Swedish king to declare war against the Russians. Mazeppa had accumulated large stores in the Ukraine, and in this way the Swedish army could march straight to Moscow through a district where grain could be had in abundance, and which was far more fitted for aggressive than defensive warfare.

Charles accordingly chose the route through the Ukraine, a fertile part of the country, from motives similar to those which afterward influenced Napoleon, who hoped to effect his retirement from Russia by it, had his route not been diverted by the all-important battle of Maloyaroslavets. He was able to conceal his plans with great skill, so that Peter for a long time could form no idea as to the direction in which he might expect his appearance. Not to be persuaded by Menshikov that Charles would endeavor to enter the country by Little Russia, Peter had concentrated all

1708

his forces in the neighborhood of Smolensk, and therefore could not prevent the passage of the Swedes over the Druch at Golovchino or over the Dnieper at Mohilev. The king easily defeated the separated corps of the Russian army, and entered the Sieverski district.

At length, however, the direction which the invader was taking became evident. Peter at once changed his plans; he moved up his soldiers, came on the flank of the enemy, and marched parallel with him, harassing him on all sides, and cutting off stragglers especially at Dobroe. So completely were the neighboring towns and villages burned that Charles found only uninhabitable ruins awaiting him. The weather was severe, and in his apprehension that his army would perish from hunger, he sent orders to Löwenhaupt, who had come from Livonia with great quantities of provisions and military stores, to join the main army as soon as possible. The Russian generals, having learned this, determined to send some regiments to intercept Löwenhaupt. The guide, a Jew, who had been bribed by the Swedes, conducted them to Smolensk, assuring them that they would meet the enemy there; while Löwenhaupt, following another route, was already in the neighborhood of Mohilev, a few days' journey from the Swedish army. Fortunately, the tsar discovered his mistake in time, and changing his route overtook the Swedish general not far from Proprisk at the village of Liesnoe on the River Sozh. There he forced him to fight, and in spite of the superiority of their numbers and the desperate bravery of Swedes, completely defeated him (October 10, 1708). Löwenhaupt lost more than half his men, with all his baggage, and when he appeared in the camp of the king it was as a fugitive.

The consequences of this battle were very important for both sides. The Russians considered Löwenhaupt the best general whom Charles could boast. Peter, having shown them that it was possible to beat him, and that with inferior numbers, inspired his troops with confidence both in their own powers and in the ability of their leaders. Charles was now deprived of a considerable portion of his forces and of all his military stores and the supplies which were now so necessary for his exhausted army. Hunger and disease had by this time reduced the Swedish army to 18,000 men.

The king, however, still had hopes of releasing himself from his difficult position by reaching Little Russia, where Mazeppa

had promised that all the Cossack regiments would join him, and where he would find ample stores accumulated in Baturin, Romna, Gudiach, and other towns. But in this expectation he was deceived. The hetman succeeded in effecting a junction with him on the banks of the Desna, but with only an insignificant section of his retainers, together with some thousand Cossacks, who had been brought by treachery into the Swedish camp. Charles certainly did not find in Little Russia what he had hoped for; instead of a hearty welcome and magazines full of stores, he met with fortresses obstinately defended, and with half-burned towns and villages. The Cossacks showed but little sympathy with Mazeppa, and this contributed to the tsar's success quite as much as the excellent measures he had himself taken. He received news of the defection of Mazeppa on November 7, 1708, and immediately sent Menshikov to counteract the plans of the traitor before the king could make his appearance. Mazeppa had himself made overtures by which Peter would probably have been again misled. But about this time the tsar accidentally intercepted a letter addressed by Mazeppa to Stanislaus Leczinski, who had been put forward as a rival to Augustus II. The fate of the conspirator was thus sealed.

Menshikov swiftly and skillfully carried out his master's orders. He met with but little resistance anywhere except in Baturin, the capital of the Cossacks, which was occupied by Chechela and Königseck, the hetman's confederates. He carried the town by assault on November 15, razed it to the ground, and captured the chief rebels. He thus got possession of Mazeppa's treasures, his artillery, and stores. He also demolished the Setch, as the fortifications of the Cossack republic were called, and thus deprived the Swedes of all chance of revictualing. The blow inflicted was very opportune, and inspired with terror the secret confederates of Mazeppa in the various districts. On the other hand, those who had begun to waver in their inclinations toward Russia were confirmed in their fidelity. There was no chance now of a general rising of the Cossacks. It was no longer a national movement, but the hostility of a few individual chiefs. The Cossacks whom Mazeppa had tried to lead into the Swedish camp deserted, and Little Russia met Charles in a hostile spirit. Everywhere throughout the Sieverski district he found ruined villages. Everywhere Menshikov displayed the greatest activity. Peter proceeded

to depose Mazeppa from the hetmanship and caused Skoropadski to be elected in his place. The traitor was also solemnly excommunicated by the metropolitan of Kiev.

The winter of 1708 now came on and proved to be one of unusual severity: here again the fortunes of Charles afford an exact parallel to those of Napoleon. Ustrialov, the Russian historian, says that even birds were frozen on the wing. The Swedes suffered severely, but Charles always shared the privations of his men. The mad king kept on with his expedition. The only chance for him now would have been to retreat into Poland. He was still eager, however, to force his way to Moscow.

The tsar had remained the whole winter with his army. When he set out for Voronezh and Azov in the spring of 1709 he intrusted the command to Sheremetiev and Menshikov. Disagreements, however, among the Russian commanders disturbed the plan of campaign which had been mapped out by Peter. Charles was now approaching the Vorskla. Sheremetiev and Menshikov incautiously divided their forces. The tsar heard of this, and, foreseeing how fraught with danger such a disposition would be for the Russian army, wrote ordering them to unite as soon as possible.

On the route of Charles lay the town of Poltava, a place which until then had been so obscure that there is considerable difficulty in ascertaining the early spelling of the name. It is situated on the River Vorskla, and was held by a strong garrison under the command of Colonel Kellin. Charles anticipated no difficulty in capturing the town, but Kellin showed no sign of surrendering. The Swedish king had not been accustomed to meet with obstacles, and proposed to himself to take the place forthwith. He, moreover, disposed his troops under the walls of Poltava the more willingly, because he hoped to draw Peter into an engagement and to wait until the negotiations into which he had entered with the Turks earlier in the year should be concluded. In reality, the sultan, who had been approached by the Swedish agents, wished to have a rupture with Russia, and the Khan of the Crimea, toward whom he stood in the relation of suzerain, had already commenced hostile measures. Peter, however, acted with his customary decision and genius; he collected a powerful flotilla at Voronezh. All the winter he had busied himself with shipbuilding, and as soon as the river was navigable he sailed down the Don to Taganrog and

showed himself in the Sea of Azov. This had a quieting effect upon the sultan, who no longer evinced any desire to interfere in the war, and forbade the khan to do so.

Meanwhile Poltava had not surrendered, and Kellin continued to repulse the attacks of the Swedes. Occasionally the bombs of the enemy gave rise to fires in the town, and the soldiers would then rush up to the walls and plant the Swedish flag. Kellin, commissioning the women and old men to quench the flames, proceeded himself to the encounter, beat off the Swedes from the fortifications, and by lucky sorties threw the enemy's camp into disorder, capturing guns and taking prisoners. Menshikov had by this time arrived on the scene. The forces of the tsar, stationed not far from Poltava on the other bank of the Vorskla, supported the brave garrison. Menshikov continued to introduce supplies into the town, which was now beginning to suffer. The siege lasted two months, during which time Charles was more and more exhausting his forces. Menshikov sent to urge the tsar to come as speedily as he could. Meanwhile, in conjunction with Sheremetiev, he had successfully carried out the designs of Peter during the latter's absence. Peter left Azov and hastened across the steppes of the Don. He was present at the scene of action on June 18. The lesson staught him by his former battles with the Swedes had not been thrown away, and he now had a more efficient army in place of the raw, untrained men who had been so easily defeated at Narva.

Having weakened his army by so many futile attacks, Charles was anxious to have the matter decided. He had received a wound in his foot and could neither walk nor ride, but had to be carried about in a litter. Peter began cautiously and approached the place gradually under cover of earthworks; but, on learning that the besieged could hold out no longer, he resolved to risk a battle on July 7. The two hosts were led by their respective sovereigns: it was a veritable duel, and the first to fire was Charles. Sitting in his litter and surrounded by his guards he took his soldiers straight against the redoubts built in front of the Russian camp. The Swedes rushed up to the very trenches, but were met with such a terrific cannonade that the men fled for shelter into a wood which lay in front of the Russian camp, and not without difficulty reformed there in something approaching order. In the midst of this panic the right wing under the command of Ross became separated from the rest of the army and was cut to pieces by Men-

1709

shikov. Meanwhile, the tsar brought his main body into action from the trenches, and moved them skillfully on the enemy. Going round the regiments he told the soldiers that the time had come which was to decide the fate of Russia, that they were fighting not for Peter, but for the empire instrusted to Peter, for their families, their country, and the holy orthodox faith, that they must not allow themselves to be daunted by the supposed invincibility of the enemy. The engagement then began. Peter attacked the army of the invaders on both flanks, and at the end of two hours had gained a complete victory. During the stampede which ensued Charles fell several times from the litter. The Swedes who succeeded in escaping made for Turkish territory, but prisoners to the number of 2800 were taken, including the principal Swedish officers and Count Piper, the king's minister. Sheremetiev had displayed conspicuous bravery during the engagement, and as a reward had two estates given to him by Peter at the feast which followed the battle. Menshikov, who had not been uniformly successful in the smaller engagements during the absence of Peter, atoned for all former errors by his brilliant command of the cavalry. Two horses were killed under him at the redoubts; a third horse was killed under him in the final engagement. He was immediately after the battle raised to the rank of field-marshal by the grateful tsar. After the battle Peter entertained the highest Swedish officers among the prisoners and thanked them for the instructions he had received at their hands in the art of war. Of the rank and file of the captives many were sent to Siberia, whence the majority never returned to their native country. A valuable work on Russia, and Siberia in particular, was written by one of them named Strahlenberg.

Peter at Poltava displayed the most reckless courage, which fact should have been sufficient to dispose of all theories of cowardice at Narva. He is recorded to have been everywhere during the engagement, generally in the front of the battle, and while thus exposing himself, received a bullet in his hat, which is still preserved in the museum of the Hermitage in St. Petersburg. No man realized more thoroughly the great importance of Poltava. A letter of his is still preserved, written from the field of battle on July 11, at nine in the evening, to his favorite minister and high admiral, Apraxin. In it the tsar, after telling in a few words of the complete victory he had just gained and the entire rout of the Swedish

army, winds up by saying: "I think we shall now remain masters of St. Petersburg and its dependencies."

Nor was Charles behind Peter in his contempt of death. In the retreat he was lifted on to a favorite old horse, Brander, and with a handful of attendants made his way to Turkish soil. Besides Count Piper he had also left Field-marshal Rehnskiold in the hands of the Russians. The Swedish army now ceased to exist as a hostile force. Half of it had fallen on the field of Poltava; the other half in its flight had hoped to reach the Crimea, but surrendered to Menshikov and Galitzin at Perevolochna on the banks of the Dnieper. Some other fugitives, and among them Charles himself, set off for the River Boug, but were overtaken by the Russians, who killed some and took others prisoners, Charles escaping with great difficulty. He crossed the Boug with Mazeppa, hoping to find a place of refuge in the Turkish dominions. All his stores and artillery were in the hands of the conqueror. His career as a victor was at an end; and for the next five years he was to be a hostage at the court of the Turkish sultan, where he had some strange adventures. He could not consider himself safe until he had reached Bender, then in Turkey, but now in the Russian government of Bessarabia. Here Mazeppa died, after a checkered career, on March 31, 1710, and was buried at Galatz in Rumania, also at that time Turkish territory.

The rejoicings throughout Russia were great, and the generals were loaded with honors. The letter which Peter wrote to Catherine, and which is still preserved among the St. Petersburg archives, may be compared with that which Sobieski wrote to his wife on the defeat of the Turks before Vienna: "Good-morning, Mamma, I write to tell you that God all merciful has been so good as to give me an indescribable victory over the enemy. To tell you briefly—all the forces of the enemy have been completely beaten, and you yourself shall hear about it from us; and pray come here in person to congratulate me.—PETER." He signs his name in Dutch form in Latin letters, as he frequently did when in a humorous mood.

The battle of Poltava has always been reckoned one of the decisive battles of the world. It signified two things: first, the fall of Sweden from her purely accidental position as the leading power in northern Europe, which she owed to the genius of Gustavus Adolphus; and secondly, the assumption of that place by Russia.

1710

Up to this time Peter had been regarded by the other Europeans with mingled feelings of astonishment and contempt; now, however, there manifested itself a universal inclination to court him, especially shown among the petty German potentates. But not only did Peter thus establish his position toward the other European powers; he also by this brilliant victory, so gratifying to Russian pride, reconciled his own subjects to the many reforms which had been introduced and the high-handed manner in which they had been carried out. At the beginning of his reign he was not without moments of peril at the hands of the strelitz, who met with a large amount of support among the clergy and represented a faction which had never been entirely suppressed. The course of Peter's action had been throughout in direct opposition to the prejudices of his countrymen, and now the disaffected ones began to group themselves round his divorced wife and rebellious son. It is easy to understand that they fancied, as we read in the contemporary bilini, that there was only a spurious Peter who was ruling over them and that the real orthodox Russian tsar had been spirited away to Stockholm and was kept prisoner there.

The immediate effect, however, of the victory of Poltava was that Peter received the homage of the neighboring powers. Augustus II. of Poland now declared the Treaty of Altranstadt to be inoperative, and thus some expiation was made to the manes of the unfortunate Patkul. Augustus had met Peter at Thorn on October 10, 1709, and now hastened to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with Russia against Sweden. Stanislaus Leczinski, who had been nominated king of Poland by Charles, and would have made an excellent king, was compelled to leave that country, and took refuge with his protector at Bender. Peter did not forget the injuries which had been done him by the Cossacks, and proceeded to chastise them with great severity. In fact this was the last outbreak in which they indulged. Mazeppa would certainly have been put to death had he survived, and hence it has been conjectured that he committed suicide. It does not seem altogether improbable, and would have been a dramatically suitable ending to his career of passion and turbulence.

After Poltava, Sheremetiev led the Russian forces to Rieshetilovka and thence marched to Riga (July 7, 1710). The Swedish garrison at Riga amounted to 12,000 men. In October Sheremetiev began the blockade, and in November Peter, who had been

journeying across the frontier, arrived in the camp of the besiegers and opened the bombardment. On his departure Sheremetiev again changed the siege into a winter blockade, removed his superfluous troops to Courland and went to Moscow to celebrate the military triumph of Poltava. The tsar left to him the honor of the victory of Poltava, only claiming for himself the credit of that at Liesnoe. Sheremetiev and Menshikov followed immediately behind the tsar in the triumphal procession as generals of the Preobazhenski regiment.

In the winter Sheremetiev returned to Riga, and at the beginning of December the bombardment was renewed and was continued until the whole Russian army had assembled. The city was now grievously hard pressed, suffering at once from sickness and the Russian shells; nevertheless it was not until the following July that Riga surrendered. Sheremetiev entered the city in triumph and received the oath of allegiance from the citizens. The tsar gave him the keys of Riga to keep as an heirloom and they are still preserved among the treasures of the Sheremetievs. These keys are of gold and weigh about three pounds, and bear the following inscription: *Rigæ devictæ obsequium a supremo totius Russiæ campi præfecto com. Boris Sheremeteff, Equite ordin. Malth., S. Apostol Andreæ et alt. Anno Salutis MDCCX. die* 12/24 *Julii.* After the taking of Riga Sheremetiev led the Russian army into Volhynia.

Soon after the battle of Poltava the Danish king, Frederick IV., sent an ambassador to Peter, Just Juel, whose secretary has left us a very interesting account of his journey. The tsar, we are told, received the ambassador in the most cordial manner, asking him to come and sit by him, and offering him a glass of wine with his own hand. This same writer has left us only too vivid a picture of some of the drinking bouts he witnessed at St. Petersburg, for it was a hard-drinking age.

Prussia, Poland, and Denmark were now eager for a close alliance with the conqueror. Before the end of 1709 Sweden found herself attacked on all sides, so foolish and headstrong had been the policy of Charles. The country would have been lost but for the energy of General Magnus Stenbock, who had gone to the Ukraine with the king, but in consequence of ill health had returned to Sweden, where he held the post of governor of Skaania. He rapidly raised an army of 15,000 men, and succeeded in driving

1710

out the Danes who had invaded the country. The Russians, however, occupied Livonia, Esthonia, and part of Finland.

The other European powers who were then engaged in the contest with Louis XIV. were rather perplexed by the new development which matters were taking. Louis XIV. at once conceived the idea of entering into an alliance with Peter. Peter does not seem to have been willing to commit himself to any definite alliance; he had his own plans for securing a footing on the Baltic, and was not unwilling to see the European powers engaged in another direction, so that he might be free to carry out his designs. An interview took place at Marienwerder between Peter and Frederick I. of Prussia. The latter is said to have proposed the partition of Poland, as did another member of his house in the days of Catherine II. On this occasion a marriage was negotiated between Frederick William, the young Duke of Courland, the nephew of the Prussian king, and Anne, daughter of Peter's brother Ivan, who afterward became empress. This marriage had in many ways a political significance. In the year 1710 an embassy was sent by the Duke of Courland to Russia, and on July 22 in that year a treaty was concluded, in which it was stipulated that the tsarevna should have a church for herself and her Russian attendants according to the orthodox rite; if she had any daughters they were to be of the same religion as their mother, but the sons were to be brought up as Lutherans, like their father. On the marriage taking place, Anne was to have 200,000 rubles as a dowry, and if the duke should die leaving no issue, his widow was to receive for her maintenance 400,000 rubles annually, as well as a castle and estate for her residence during the rest of her life. In August of the same year the bridegroom himself arrived in St. Petersburg, accompanied by the Russian Field-marshal Sheremetiev. The marriage took place on November 11, 1710, at the residence of Prince Menshikov on the Vasilievski Ostrov. The rite was performed by the Archimandrite Theodosii Yanovski, who was metropolitan of Novgorod, and the concluding exhortation to the bridegroom pronounced in Latin. The marriage was made the occasion for a series of uproarious festivals, which illustrate somewhat luridly the state of civilization in the country. Two dwarfs on one occasion were seen to come out of a pie when it was cut, and the marriage of a dwarf took place on November 26. It should be remembered that even in England dwarfs were

kept at court till well past the middle of the seventeenth century, and some German princelings even kept them as late as the time of Peter.

The marriage of Anne was, however, to have a melancholy ending. Before the newly married couple could reach Mittau, when indeed they were only forty versts from St. Petersburg at a country house named Duderhof, the duke died suddenly from the effects, it was said, of the great quantity of spirituous liquor with which the hospitality of his royal relatives had entertained him. For political reasons, Peter wished that his widowed niece should continue to live on the Courland estates of the late duke, and he even desired to send her mother Prascovia there with her daughter, but was eventually induced to give up the idea.

From this time Courland became more or less a dependency of Russia. The adventurer Biron, a favorite of Anne's, was afterward made duke, and in the time of Catherine II. the inhabitants voluntarily put themselves under Russian protection.

But a somewhat severe check was now to be given to Peter's triumphant progress by the outbreak of a war with Turkey. This was brought about by the machinations of the fugitive Charles, who was still a captive at Bender. During his absence from Sweden, Charles had occupied himself continually with attempts to embroil Russia with Turkey. The tsar had managed to enlist as a partisan the Vizier Kiuprili, and Ahmed III. had even agreed at the beginning of the year 1710 to confirm the Treaty of Constantinople, on condition that Charles should have a free passage through Russia into Sweden. The latter, however, declined to avail himself of this. His agents, the Polish Generals Poniatowski and Potocki, with the help of the French ambassador and the khan of the Crimea, succeeded by one of these court intrigues so frequent in Turkish history in overthrowing Kiuprili and getting Mohammed Pasha made vizier. Meanwhile, Charles by his chivalrous bravery had gained for himself many friends among the Turks. In October, 1710, the tsar sent an ultimatum to the sultan, and soon afterward the latter declared war on the ground that the tsar had erected fortifications which threatened the Crimea, and had seized parts of Poland with the object of thence making an inroad into Turkish territory. A Turkish army of 300,000 men was placed under the command of the grand vizier, and was to cross the Danube. Peter entered upon the war most unwillingly because he

had other matters to attend to; his great desire being to consolidate his new northern acquisitions. Allies he had none, although he made overtures both to Venice and to Louis XIV. He endeavored, however, to enter into relations with the Wallachians, Moldavians, and Serbs, all of whom were groaning under a yoke which they were eager to cast off. Brancovan, the Hospodar of Wallachia, and Cantemir of Moldavia (father of the celebrated Antioch, a Russian ambassador and poet) were eager to help him. These princes agreed to find supplies for the Russians and to put themselves under Peter's protection. It is in reality from the time of Peter the Great that the rayas in Turkey begin to look to the Russians for protection. The success of the expedition depended upon Peter's being able to anticipate the enemy in reaching the Danube so as to get possession of Moldavia before the Turks; and Peter hoped to accomplish his object by one decisive blow. Having collected about 40,000 of his best troops, mostly infantry, including some regiments of the guards, he put Sheremetiev in command, and ordered him to hasten at once into Moldavia. In March, 1711, he himself joined the army and expressed great dissatisfaction with the way in which Sheremetiev had wasted his time. It had been arranged that he should push on with his regiments and reach the Dniester by the middle of May. He was then to hurry to the Danube so as to anticipate its passage by the Turks. Sheremetiev, harassed by the difficulties of his march in the summer heat and the insufficiency of provisions, had lost two weeks in his journey to the Dniester. He also made a digression to Jassy at the request of the Hospodar of Moldavia, and thus further wasted time; considering, as he did, that the previous plan of the war was abandoned. He could not make up the time that had been lost when Peter came into Moldavia, and this was partly the cause of the disaster of the Pruth. Peter was accompanied by Catherine, and he had left Menshikov as governor of St. Petersburg during his absence.

The Turks, however, succeeded in reaching the Danube before the Russians. Peter got to the Pruth on July 5 and had a meeting with Cantemir at Jassy; this was then a poor town with a few mosques and so remained till the beginning of the nineteenth century: now, however, it is a very handsome city, conspicuous for its well-built churches; and of the quondam rule of the Turk not a vestige appears to be left. Peter began to find that he could not rely

much upon his supporters in Turkey. The time for the rising of the Christian population against their Ottoman masters had not yet come. We shall find, too, that it was premature even in the reign of Catherine II.; all things, however, were tending to it, as indeed they always have been. Peter, as we have said, had not been eager for the war: on the other hand there is evidence that the Turks were also half-hearted, and when Peter was at Jassy the sultan appears to have made offers of peace. The tsar fell into the serious error of dividing his army; one-half he sent into Wallachia in the hope of raising the population, and went himself to the Pruth with about 35,000 men. Brancovan meanwhile showed signs of treachery, and soon afterward openly made common cause with the grand vizier. The supplies which had been collected for the benefit of the Russians were handed over to the Turks, while those which Cantemir had promised had been destroyed by locusts.

The grand vizier, whose troops greatly outnumbered the Russians, now attacked them, and although they defended themselves with great valor, their position became untenable. Peter sent a trumpeter into the Turkish camp offering terms. The tsar employed Shavirov to manage the negotiations. He was ready to surrender all Turkish territory occupied by the Russians, and even to give up Livonia, but not the district upon which the newly founded city of St. Petersburg was situated. Moreover, Peter's terms included a vast bribe to the vizier: and he would even have gone so far as to surrender Pskov, and acknowledge Stanislaus Leczinski as king of Poland. The Turks consented to allow the tsar to escape from his dilemma, Azov was to be surrendered, and the fortifications of Taganrog destroyed. Peter was to cease to interfere in Polish affairs and to give liberty of passage through his dominions to the King of Sweden. Shavirov and the sons of Sheremetiev were to remain with the Turks as hostages. In case the Turks should refuse peace Sheremetiev avowed himself ready to fight to the last extremity.

The letter which Peter is reported to have sent to the senate, telling them that they were to pay no attention to any orders which he might give, if he were captured, is now generally considered a forgery. It is not mentioned by contemporaries nor can any copy of it be found in the Russian archives at the present time. Bribes are said to have been given by Catherine to the Turkish officials. This, however, is considered improbable by Waliszewski,

1711-1713

who looks upon the final treaty as proceeding from the dislike of the Turks to continue the campaign. It was thus that the Russian army was rescued. Azov was a great loss to Peter, because it was his outlet to the sea, and the scene of one of his earliest triumphs. The Russians did not again become possessed of it until 1774, as we shall see farther on, when the grand schemes about the Black Sea were realized by Catherine II. The conditions of the treaty were carried out with considerable difficulty. Peter, much to his honor, refused to give up Cantemir at the request of the sultan, and thus saved the historian of Turkey from the bowstring. Charles was naturally indignant that his powerful enemy had been allowed to escape from the consequences of his indiscretion. He demanded that the treaty should be abrogated, and he refused to leave Turkey. He also persuaded the sultan to dismiss the vizier and to appoint Yusuf Pasha in his place. As some of the terms of the treaty were not carried out Peter refused to surrender Azov. He evidently was most unwilling to abandon this important position which had cost him so much labor and bloodshed. He even gave orders that when it was surrendered drawings should be made of the fortifications. The Porte was on the point of renewing the war on the ground that the terms of the treaty were not adhered to, but Shavirov, who had been sent as a hostage to Constantinople, succeeded in persuading the sultan by the help of the English and Dutch ambassadors that the Swedish king ought to leave Turkey before Azov was surrendered. It was, however, not long before the Turks, while seeming to ratify the Treaty of the Pruth, again declared war against Russia on account of her interference in the affairs of Poland. The Tatars devastated the Ukraine and the Turks concentrated their forces at Adrianople as a base from which to invade the Russian territory. The sultan, however, became more disposed to peace when Azov was once surrendered, and made a treaty with Russia at Adrianople for twenty-five years on the lines of the Treaty of the Pruth. Charles was now told that he must depart. He flatly refused, and when a regiment of janissaries appeared to carry him off he fortified the wooden house which he occupied, armed his retinue, and fought through a whole day till the Turks burned down his house. He then rushed out considerably injured with burns and holding a blood-stained sword in his hand; he was caught, however, and taken to Demotica near Adrianople.

Here he became very friendly with the new vizier, and nearly succeeded a second time in persuading the Porte to take arms against Peter. Finally feeling that all his efforts were vain, and hearing of the miserable condition in which his country was now placed, he left Turkey in a rage. He refused to receive any presents from the sultan nor would he allow him to furnish him with any escort. With a solitary companion and under a feigned name, he traversed Wallachia, Transylvania, Hungary, Austria, and Brunswick, and unexpectedly appeared at Stralsund, the only possession remaining to the Swedes of the territories they had once occupied in Germany. Thus, like a house of cards, had tumbled to pieces the fabric of a north Scandinavian confederacy which the genius of Gustavus Adolphus had called into being. Sweden was to shrink to her natural limits, and the great north Germanic confederation was to wait for its realization to the days of Bismarck.

Of Charles's companion, Stanislaus Leczinski, we shall hear again in the course of our history. Charles gave him the little principality of Deux Ponts, and he took up his abode there in 1714, but when the Swedish king was killed in 1718 he was obliged to quit his retreat and was allowed to retire to France.

Chapter IV

THE EPOCH OF REFORMS. 1713-1725

SHEREMETIEV had been left in command of the forces which occupied the country between the Dnieper and Kameniets, while the Little Russian soldiers were to guard the line of the Ukraine. Here Sheremetiev remained for three years till the winter of 1714, for the Turks wavered in their conduct, at one time seeming disposed to carry out the treaty and at another to ignore it. The interests and activity of Peter were now more confined to the north, where the appearance of Charles upon the scene was enough once more to kindle the flames of war. Those who had assisted Peter in the new rôle he had assumed of protector of the Christians in the Turkish empire were likely to become considerably embroiled with the Ottoman authorities. Cantemir escaped the vengeance of the Turks by removing into Russian territory. Brancovan and his son were seized by the officers of the sultan at Bucharest, carried off to Constantinople, and there executed.

During the five years in which Charles had remained in Turkey, Sweden had lost Pomerania and Finland. Charles himself was to blame for the loss of the first. In 1710 the naval powers—England and Holland—with the concurrence of the German empire had signed a treaty of neutrality at The Hague, which had the effect of removing the northern war from German territory. There was no wish on the part of the powers to embarrass the great alliance against Louis XIV.

By this treaty Augustus II. was protected in Saxony; Denmark in Holstein, Schleswig, and Jutland; and Sweden in Pomerania. Charles, however, would hear of nothing of the kind, although the regency appointed in Stockholm accepted it. The Kings of Denmark and Poland hastened to seize Stralsund. Charles took command of the garrison and defended the place till the walls were blown up and the fortifications reduced to ashes; then in a small yacht he crossed the Baltic and landed safely in

Skaania, although Tordenskjold, the famous admiral, the hero of the celebrated ballad, was scouring the seas to intercept him. The city of Stralsund was taken by the allied forces, including those of Russia, and Stettin, reduced to extremities by Menshikov, put itself under the protection of Frederick William of Prussia, who held it in force till the Swedes should pay some of the money he had spent in saving the town. Charles definitely refused to recognize this claim, and the Prussian king accordingly incorporated Stettin with his dominions.

The aggressive designs of Peter were next directed against Finland. He must have perceived that it was too near to St. Petersburg to be allowed to remain in foreign hands. The Russians felt this in the reign of Catherine II. when the naval battles took place, the cannonades of which shook the city. The skillful Swedish General Lübecker was then operating in Finland. In May, 1713, Peter appeared off Helsingfors, which the Swedes surrendered to him, and he also got possession of Abo. Hereupon the Swedish Government removed Lübecker and put Armfeldt in his place. However, in October Armfeldt was defeated by the Russian admirals, Apraxin and Galitzin, at the village of Nappo. At the same time the tsar (1714) obtained a great naval victory off Gangud (between Helsingfors and Abo) and took prisoner Admiral Ehrenskiöld with all his squadron. The conquest of the Aland Islands was another result of this victory. Finally, when Nyschlot, the last remaining fortress, was taken the Swedish troops evacuated Finland, leaving the country completely in the hands of the Russians.

In 1715 an English and Dutch fleet visited the Baltic, and Peter dined on board the flagship of Admiral Norris. He thus renewed acquaintance with his English naval friends. We have already quoted from Perry the complimentary remarks he was in the habit of making upon the English sailors, for whom he felt a genuine admiration.

The return of Charles, so far from allaying the disordered state of Sweden, increased her troubles. Besides his three former enemies, he had now two more opponents in the King of Prussia and the Elector of Hanover. With the former he quarreled about Stettin not being prepared, as we have seen, to recognize its hypothecation. His dispute with the latter was concerned with the Swedish towns of Werden and Bremen, of which the elector wished

to get possession, according to his treaty with the King of Denmark. Moreover, England and Holland at length resolved to take part in the northern war, from a feeling of dissatisfaction with Charles, who had allowed his privateers to seize neutral vessels. In this way there was an alliance of seven countries against Sweden, *viz.*, Russia, Poland, Denmark, Hanover, Prussia, England, and Holland. All this served Peter's purpose admirably. He felt that Sweden was his most important enemy, and wished to deal her a decisive blow, recognizing that the command of the Baltic was necessary for the very existence of his new capital. But Charles, despite the fact that he had just lost Stralsund, would not entertain the idea of peace. His whole policy was based upon a radical misconception of the resources of Sweden and of the position she occupied in the European system. It is therefore impossible to consider him in any true sense a statesman. In the same way toward the close of the century the inflated and theatrical Gustavus III. acted as if Sweden was one of the great powers, and had unlimited resources, and thus dragged the country into useless wars solely to gratify his own vanity and political ambition.

The allies, however, soon ceased to work in harmony. The Danes especially seem to have had their suspicions of Peter. Augustus of Poland shuffled as usual. This want of unanimity among the allies could not escape the notice of the far-seeing minister, Görtz, who enjoyed Charles's complete confidence. He excogitated a subtle plan based on an attempted reconciliation between Peter and the king. It certainly seemed impossible that such a result could be brought about, because neither one nor the other was prepared to give up Livonia, Esthonia, and Ingria. At the suggestion of Görtz, however, Charles offered terms of peace, which were readily listened to by Peter, and negotiations were at once opened in the Aland Island between Görtz on the one side and Bruce and Ostermann on the other. These did not last long. Görtz had a personal interview with Peter when at The Hague during his second tour. In the event Charles gave up to Russia Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, Karelia, and the part of Finland in which Viborg is situated. Peter, on his part, promised to force Augustus of Poland to abdicate, and to forward the return of Stanislaus Leczinski. He was also to send troops to assist Sweden in the war with Denmark and Hanover, and to help in conquering Norway. Besides this, Görtz, in conjunction with the intriguing Spanish

minister, Alberoni, had plans for driving the Elector of Hanover from the English throne, and restoring the Stuarts in the person of the Pretender. With this view, a certain Thomas Gordon, governor of Kronstadt, a Scotchman in the service of Peter, entered into a correspondence with the Pretender. A Russian fleet was to make a descent upon the English coast. Thus the flames of a northern war seemed about to spread over all Europe, when a sudden end was put to all these plans.

In the late autumn of 1718 Charles had set out to conquer Norway, which then belonged to Denmark, and laid siege to the town of Frederikshald. The war was far from being popular among the Swedes; the siege was being carried on in a most severe winter, but Charles shared all the fatigue with his men. Voltaire has described how the king used on the coldest nights to sleep in the open air with only a cloak thrown over him. Yet at this time many of his soldiers were frozen to death at their posts. About nine o'clock at night on December 11 he went to examine the trenches. He found the parallel not advanced enough and expressed his discontent. The angle of the rampart where the king was standing was commanded by the enemy's cannon. There were only two officers near him at the time, both Frenchmen: one was Signier, his aide-de-camp, who had attached himself to his service in Turkey, and the other an engineer named Megret. These two saw the king suddenly fall and heard him utter a sigh. When they ran up to him he was already dead. He had been struck by a ball in the right temple. However much the patriotism of the Swedes has occasionally attempted to conceal it, there can be no doubt that the shot had been fired by someone in the Swedish camp. This is proved by the direction from which the ball came. The musket from which the ball was fired is said to be preserved in the house of a country gentleman in the Baltic provinces. The Swedes were in fact reduced to extremities and were tired of the mad pranks of the king. It has been conjectured that he was shot by the engineer Megret at the instigation of his brother-in-law, Prince Frederick of Hesse, husband of the Princess Ulrika, the heiress to the throne. Charles was only thirty-six years of age.

The prince at once ordered the arrest of Görtz. This unfortunate minister was made the victim of the indignation universally felt at the miserable condition of Sweden, while Charles became and has ever since remained a national hero. Görtz was brought

1718-1721

to Stockholm, and without any regular trial was sentenced by the queen to be executed. In this way the nobility exacted vengeance for the humiliations to which Charles had subjected them.

The new queen resolved to carry on the war against Peter with all the resources at her disposal, and to make peace with all the other enemies of Sweden. To the Elector of Hanover she gave up Bremen and Werden in 1719; to the King of Prussia, Stettin and Upper Pomerania in 1720; and to the King of Denmark, Schleswig. By abandoning these territories the queen hoped with the help of England to get back those which the Russians had conquered.

Peter now fitted out a large fleet under the command of Admiral Apraxin and landed troops on the east coast of Sweden. These latter burned two towns and a great many villages in the neighborhood of Stockholm. Ostermann was sent to Sweden to negotiate a peace, but he found all efforts in that direction useless. Ulrika entreated the King of England to hasten to her aid, and a treaty was concluded between the two powers.

In 1720 Queen Ulrika, feeling the responsibilities of empire too heavy for her, with the consent of the states, resigned her power into the hands of her husband, who was recognized thenceforth as King Frederick I. His long reign (1720-1750) was indeed a gloomy one for Sweden, which now had to make atonement for the indiscretions of the mad Charles. Russia without allies turned to Spain, then governed by the capable Alberoni, the favorite minister of Elizabeth Farnese. But on the fall of the cardinal these negotiations came to an end.

In 1720 George I., willing to assist the new king, sent a considerable fleet under the command of Admiral Norris to the Gulf of Finland and threatened St. Petersburg. The English, however, were half-hearted, and there was a considerable party in opposition who thought that the commercial interests of the country would suffer by a war with Russia. Norris, thus handicapped, did as little in the Baltic as did Napier more than a century afterward.

In 1721 Peter sent some ships under the command of Galitzin to threaten Sweden, and a Swedish squadron was defeated near the Island of Grengam, almost under the eyes of the English. Galitzin even brought four ships which he had taken to St. Petersburg. George I. was obliged to tell the Swedish king how little sympathy the war had aroused in England. Meanwhile Galitzin

continued his depredations on the coast of Sweden, and that unhappy country was still to pay the penalties of juxtaposition to its powerful and hostile neighbor. At length it was decided to hold a congress at Nystad, a town in Finland not far from Abo. The deliberations lasted some time, Russia being represented by Bruce and Ostermann and Sweden by Lilienstedt and Strömfeldt. The chief subjects of contention were Livonia and Viborg. Peter even gave orders to Galitzin to attack Stockholm itself, with a view of putting an end to any further delay in the proceedings of the congress. Finally matters were arranged by the celebrated Treaty of Nystad (September 10, 1721); Russia was to receive Livonia with the Islands of Egel and Dago, Esthonia, Ingria, and a part of Finland with the town of Viborg, and undertook to pay Sweden $2,000,000 for Livonia.

The news of the peace was received in Russia with great rejoicing. The tsar ordered casks of brandy to be brought into the public squares and drank a bumper to the health of the people. Everywhere were fireworks and triumphal processions. The tsar received from the senate the title of Great Emperor (Imperator), Father of the Country.

In 1717, in the midst of the Swedish complications, his second tour in western Europe was undertaken. On his previous journey he had not visited France, but was now eager to do so, as friendly relations had for some time existed between Russia and that country. Catherine was with him during some part of his journey, but she did not accompany him to Paris, remaining at Amsterdam while he visited that city. She was treated with great courtesy by the Dutch authorities, with whom Peter always seems to have been *persona grata*. From Paris, Peter journeyed in the direction of Berlin, and while passing through Wittenberg visited the localities connected with the memory of Luther. On reaching Berlin we are told that he surprised the king, Frederick William, the father of Frederick the Great, by his neglect of the rules of etiquette. It might rather have been expected that such conduct would have recommended him to a man about whose eccentricities Carlyle has so much to tell us. The daughter of the king, who was afterward the Margravine of Bayreuth, has left in her memoirs a sarcastic and highly colored picture of Catherine. The margravine was then a child of only eight years of age. She tells us that the tsaritsa looked like a low-born woman and wore so many decorations that

her dress rattled as she walked. She was witness also of one of the convulsive fits from which Peter suffered and of which the origin has been assigned to various causes: among them being that epilepsy of genius which recalls to our minds the twitches and contortions of Dr. Johnson. Peter was well received by the regent at Paris. The *Grand Monarque* was dead, and Louis XV. a minor. When the little king came to visit Peter, the latter took him up in his arms and kissed him. He lived during the time he was at Paris in a simple way. He is reported to have said, "I am a soldier; a little bread and beer satisfy me; I prefer small apartments to large ones. I have no desire to be attended with pomp and ceremony nor to give trouble to so many people!" The curiosity of Peter in the great city was unbounded. He visited the Academy of Sciences and was enrolled among its members. He was very much struck by an operation performed upon a man's eye, just as he had been by another surgical feat when in Holland. He gazed with admiration on the tomb of Cardinal Richelieu, and declared that he would have given him half of his dominions on condition that he taught him how to govern the other half. But to the statecraft of autocracy and despotism he was no stranger; it had come to him in his very blood: it is difficult to see what he could have gained from the counsels of Richelieu; certainly nothing of constitutional government or popular progress. At the Sorbonne the professors thrust into his hand a document on a proposed amalgamation of the Greek and Latin churches. But Peter met these pedants with the answer that he was a soldier and that his bishops would be better judges of the matter than himself. On his departure from Paris he took away with him various useful mechanics and artisans. He also drew up the preliminaries of a treaty of commerce with France. He then rejoined Catherine at Amsterdam. While in Holland he purchased several of the works of Dutch masters. He had determined to have a gallery of painting and sculpture in his capital. We find him afterward purchasing the antique statues which had been collected by an Englishman named Lyde Brown. These formed the nucleus of the splendid collection at St. Petersburg.

A project which Peter is said to have had of marrying his daughter Elizabeth, afterward empress, to Louis XV. came to nothing, but we shall find later that a leaning to France colored the politics of her reign. The tsar returned to St. Petersburg in October, 1717.

After the Treaty of Nystad, which had left Peter dominant in the Baltic, he began to occupy himself with his great reforms. Even in the reign of his father, Alexis, Russia had begun to shake off her semi-Asiatic stagnation. Attempts had been made to organize the army on the western model, and many foreigners had been taken into the Russian service. We have already spoken of the Russian career of Patrick Gordon. That Russia must either disappear from among European nations or adopt western ideas was a truth that was perfectly realized by such men as Kotishikhin and Krizhanick, two contemporary writers who have left us valuable pictures of Russian life: the magnificence of the court; the servility of the boyars, and the oriental seclusion of the women. We know what the life of a Russian woman of old time was from the directions laid down in the domostroi of the priest Sylvester, written in the reign of Ivan IV. They only went out to public ceremonies. They were born and they died unknown to the outer world. They knew nothing of what was going on around them; contemporary travelers tell us that even to go to church they had to pass through a long gallery, and that when they went out it was in close vehicles, surrounded by a retinue, much as oriental princesses do now. Very few of the numerous courtiers who used to frequent the palace had ever seen the wife or daughter of the tsar. The princesses remained in a state of complete ignorance, as Kotishikhin, the renegade diak, or secretary, has told us. In his desire, however, to blacken the reputation of the country which he had forsaken, he has stated the case as badly as possible. Peter during his travels had seen the salons of the West. He now organized his assemblies, where, to the scandal of ecclesiastics and old-fashioned people, the sexes met for conversation. Perhaps these reunions were not always of the most refined character, but they were certainly better than the dull pleasures of the terem, where the chief amusement was to hear the female serfs babbling. As for the men, when left to themselves their only pleasure was in drinking and the antics of buffoons and dwarfs.

One of the great objects of Peter was to get rid of the oriental dress. The long caftan, so characteristic of eastern people, who seem to think that one element of dignity is to have a garment which descends to the heels, was now to be exchanged for a coat in the French style; and a flowing wig covered the heads of the Russians, already, as a rule, so abundantly furnished by nature.

THE DEAD BODY OF CHARLES XII CARRIED BY HIS FAITHFUL SOLDIERS FROM FREDERIKSHALD

Painting by G. von Cederström

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The portraits in the Hermitage of Peter's eaglets and fellow-workers look almost comic in this inappropriate dress. But the great difficulty was to get the Russians to abandon their beards. They clung, with considerable reason, to these manly appendages, which had to be shaved off in compliance with a ukase. We are told of one man who, when his beard had been cut off, preserved it so that it might be placed in his coffin. However, exemption from shaving might be purchased by paying a tax, and as an indication that this tax had been paid, a brass token was given. Specimens of these medals are still preserved in Russia. Peter had in these, as in other matters, to struggle against much opposition from the clergy.

The year had hitherto commenced, according to the old Russian calendar, in the month of September. It was now to begin as in the West with the first of January. Moreover, the Russians were no longer in their chronology to count from the beginning of the world. On approaching the sovereign the ceremony of chelobitie or striking the ground with the forehead had hitherto been performed. This was abolished by Peter. At a later time we find it meaning simply a petition, but the use of it in that sense was abolished by Catherine II. Peter also put an end to the barbarous custom of the praviozh, whereby debtors who could not pay were daily beaten on their shins by their creditors in some public place.

An extraordinary change was introduced with regard to tobacco. Alexis, the father of Peter, had a great dislike to the practice of smoking, and in the Ulozhenie or Code of Laws, which he published in 1649, the penalty for smoking was to have the nose cut off. Peter, however, while in England, had negotiated with Lord Carmarthen for a tobacco monopoly, and on his return to Russia did everything in his power to encourage its use. One portrait of Peter represents him dressed as a sailor with a pipe in his mouth.

Apothecaries' shops were established in Moscow, and the Russians were forbidden to carry knives, the use of which led to quarrels and outrages in the streets. Still the punishments inflicted by the Russians judicially continued to be cruel for some time afterward; men were broken on the wheel or hung up to die with a hook around one of their ribs. Women were buried alive for the murder of a husband. The penalty of banishment to Siberia was in full force; it may be said to have begun at the close of the

sixteenth century, but reached its height in the reigns of Anne and Elizabeth.

In the important question of religious reforms, Peter was assisted by Feofan Prokopovitch, and here a few words must be said about this remarkable man, who coöperated largely in Peter's innovations. A clever preacher and propagator of the orthodox doctrines, Prokopovitch was born at Kiev, June 19, 1681. Up to his eighteenth year he was educated in the schools of Kiev, where a more liberal education could be procured than in any other portion of the Russian dominions. This was owing to the fact that that part of Russia had been for a long time under the domination of the Poles, and had therefore been brought more into contact with western culture. After attending lectures at Kiev, Feofan traveled through various Slavonic countries and finally reached Rome, where he entered the college of St. Athanasius, which had been founded by Pope Gregory XIII., to serve as a place of education for Greeks and Slavs. The teachers were Jesuits, and Feofan soon became a favorite with them; they loved him for his cheerful disposition and his great capacity; but they were not able to bring him over to their way of thinking. Here he occupied himself busily with the classics and the Greek and Latin fathers. About 1702 he managed after many impediments to get back to Russia, and took up his quarters at Kiev. He now threw off entirely his connection with the Uniates.

Prokopovitch first attracted the attention of Peter by a speech which he delivered when the tsar visited Kiev in 1700, and later he pronounced an elaborate discourse after the battle of Poltava. This latter pleased the tsar so much that by his orders it was printed in the Slavonic and Latin languages, together with the Russian, Polish, and Latin verses with which conquerors were generally greeted. After this Prokopovitch accompanied the tsar in the unfortunate Turkish expedition of 1711, and subsequently went back for eight years to Kiev; but in 1716 he was called to St. Petersburg, and was soon after made bishop of Novgorod. To him in 1719 Peter intrusted the composition of the celebrated Reglament, which has been already alluded to. He was thus one of the chief agents in the religious reforms which Peter introduced. The clergy had become very rich in Russia. Giles Fletcher, the observant English minister at the court of Ivan the Terrible, noticed that in all the most agreeable localities in the country there was a mon-

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astery. Ustrialov tells us that forty-one monasteries were erected in the twelfth century, twenty-two in the thirteenth, eighty in the fourteenth, and seventy in the fifteenth. Originally the Russian clergy had been under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople, but when that city fell into the power of the Turks it was difficult to submit to the jurisdiction of an ecclesiastic who was under a Moslem yoke, and so a patriarchate was established at Moscow by Boris Godunov in 1589, and this was the office that was now abolished by Peter. Of these patriarchs there had been ten. When, in 1700, Adrian, the patriarch, died, Peter abolished the office at once, and appointed in lieu thereof a metropolitan of Moscow. The first man under the new order of things was Stephen Yavorski, who had previously been metropolitan of Riazan. He also was one of Peter's chief agents in his ecclesiastical reforms. To emphasize the new order of things more strongly, we are told that Peter himself sat down in the patriarch's chair, exclaiming, "I am the patriarch," a new version of the motto, "*L'État c'est moi.*" Peter much disapproved of the power which the ecclesiastics enjoyed, and the subordinate position which he was obliged to take when he led the ass of the patriarch on Palm Sunday. The chief exception to triumphant autocracy which he had seen when on his travels was the case of William III.; and since nothing escaped his observation, whether it were statecraft art, learning, or practical mechanics, it may well have been owing to what he had seen in England that he formed the plan of making the ecclesiastical subordinate to the temporal power.

In 1721 the Reglament duly appeared, in which the government of the church is entirely remodeled upon western lines. In the new metropolitan Yavorski and Prokopovitch, both inhabitants of Little Russia, and with western training, Peter found admirable coadjutors.

In 1721 also Peter instituted the tchin or table of ranks, which classified all the free inhabitants in their ecclesiastical, civil, or military capacities. All nobles must be employed in some office of the state. The merchants were divided into guilds.

As regards the serfs, their condition was not much improved during Peter's reign, although he put forward on their behalf several well-intentioned ukases. Thus he forbade the sale of serfs except in cases of absolute necessity, and insisted upon families of peasants being kept together. But when in 1705 compulsory serv-

ice was imposed upon all serfs equally—whether odnodvortsi, a kind of copy-holders—or polovniki, a kind of metayers—a tendency was developed to put all upon the same footing. With reference to his own authority, while being in complete hostility to everything Mongolian which had remained in Russia, Peter did not in any way seek to limit the power of the tsar. Indeed, as has been said before, there was nothing in the rest of Europe to recommend constitutional government to him, while in the case of Poland, he saw it developing into complete anarchy.

The great tragedy of the reign of Peter was the death of his son Alexis. Peter, as we have seen, had divorced his first wife, Eudoxia Lopukhin. He seems to have felt but little affection for her. She was also in close relations with the reactionary party. Alexis, under his mother's influence, grew up a bigoted young man, and spent most of his time with monks. Peter had originally built great hopes upon him, and had drawn up with his own hand elaborate plans for his education. He sent him into Germany to pursue his studies, and Alexis was for some time at Dresden, where he busied himself with geometry and fortification. He kept up, however, during the whole time, relations with the reactionaries of Moscow.

When Peter remonstrated with his son for his idleness, the only reply which Alexis vouchsafed was that he wished to be a monk. Peter had brought about his marriage with the Princess Charlotte of Wolfenbüttel. The ceremony took place at Torgau in August, 1711. The princess was an amiable woman of some personal attractions, but Alexis treated her with cruelty. She died at an early age in 1715, leaving two children—Peter, afterward emperor, and a daughter named Natalia. On leaving Russia for his second tour, the tsar had had a long conference with Alexis, in which the latter told him again that he felt himself unequal to the duties of the throne and wished to become a monk. Peter recommended him to think the matter over and to come to him at Copenhagen. Alexis set out on his journey, but after he reached Königsberg all trace of him was lost. For a long time no one knew what had become of him, till Rumiantsov, a captain of the guards, discovered his retreat. He had traveled by way of Breslau and Prague to Vienna, and late one evening called upon the imperial Vice-Chancellor Count Schönborn. The German emperor was then Charles VI., who had married the sister of the wife of

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Alexis. The latter declared that he was going to put himself under the emperor's protection. His brother-in-law, however, refused to see him, and sent him first to the castle of Weierburg near Vienna, and then to Ehrenberg in the Tyrol. It was supposed that he could remain hidden there and escape his father's wrath, at least for a time. Alexis had with him a Finnish girl, Afrosinia, and was furnished with all the luxuries he desired, but kept a close prisoner. His rank also was carefully concealed from all his attendants. Rumiantsov did not find out what had become of him till the end of April, 1717. He was then conveyed in great secrecy to the castle of St. Elmo, near Naples. Strong measures were now taken to induce Austria to surrender the fugitive, and Tolstoi was accordingly sent to Vienna, and was allowed to go to St. Elmo to have a conference with Alexis. He had great difficulties in inducing the fugitive to return, and only succeeded in doing so by threats and a promise that he should be allowed to marry his favorite Afrosinia. To this union Peter apparently promised his consent. Alexis traveled homeward very slowly, and Afrosinia was left behind at Venice. Alexis at length arrived in Moscow, and soon afterward Afrosinia was taken to St. Petersburg and was at once imprisoned.

Peter had already decided upon excluding Alexis from the succession, and had appointed a commission to examine into his offenses. He wept bitterly, and asked his father's pardon. However blameworthy the tsarevitch was, the tsar promised to pardon him if he would reveal his confederates. He was then declared to be disinherited, and an heir to the throne was fixed upon in the person of Peter, another son of the tsar, by Catherine, who, however, did not live to succeed, but died young in 1719. The assembly then adjourned to the Uspenski Sobor, where Alexis took the oath to the newly appointed heir to the throne. The commission revealed a great deal which Alexis had striven to hide. He had been in the habit of speaking of the tsar with the greatest disrespect. He had often openly said that he wished he was dead. He had threatened to put to death on his accession all the nobles who had supported his father. He had been glad when he heard of the revolts among the soldiers and the people. He had made formal complaint to the German emperor, and, what was more important than all, when at Vienna he had prepared letters to the senators and priests, urging them to revolt.

Moreover, his treasonable designs were known to Eudoxia, Peter's divorced wife, narrow-minded and ignorant, who had always greatly affected the old régime. The elder sister of Peter, Maria Alekseievna, had to a certain extent similar views; and, indeed, we must not wonder that these aristocratic ladies—and probably many others, whose names did not transpire—disliked the new plans of the regenerator. Certainly Alexis had gathered round himself all the disaffected. As regards the divorced tsaritsa, the revelations made showed that she could hardly be said to have practiced orthodox austerities. On the contrary, she held a small, luxurious court in the monastery, and gathered round her another group of those who sighed over the evil days and longed for the restitution of old customs. Peter caused her to be removed to a convent of stricter rules at Old Ladoga. She survived to a good old age, and was present at the coronation of her grandson Peter, in 1730. No doubt her last moments were consoled by the apparent prospect of a reversion to the old order of things. Maria, Peter's sister, was incarcerated at Schlüsselburg, the gloomy prison on the lake which has seen so much human suffering in Russian annals. The minor criminals, as is always the case in trials of this sort, suffered the full vengeance of the government. Glebov, who had been implicated in the irregularities of the widowed tsaritsa; Kikin, the special friend of Alexis, Ignatiev, and others, were executed with cruel tortures.

The miserable Alexis, whose conduct had been throughout so wayward, from every point of view, and so inexplicable, now went to St. Petersburg, and appeared to be reconciled to his father. With the complete want of natural affection which characterized him, he seems to have forgotten the young German wife whom he had so brutally treated, and hurried to her grave. He begged that he might marry the coarse Finnish girl, a woman absolutely without sentiment or refinement, as her letters show. However, his request was treated with contempt, and the miserable woman, either from want of feeling or terrorized by Peter, made a full confession of all the foolish and traitorous things which Alexis had been in the habit of saying. Peter now was thoroughly incensed against his son; he saw that he meditated a complete destruction of all his cherished plans; the capital was to be no longer St. Petersburg, but reactionary Moscow. The fleet would be destroyed, and old-fashioned Russia would be brought back to life.

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Not only then was Alexis in the deepest sense of the word a traitor, in that he was working against the best interests of Russia, but he also showed a total want of filial piety; he was anxious for the death of his father.

The Russian tsar, as such, had all the ideas of an oriental autocrat. We are apt to forget this in Peter's case, on account of his western inclinations, and the ease with which he adopted the civilization of more advanced countries. Whether he actually ordered his son to be put to death will perhaps forever remain a state secret. Alexis was tried by a tribunal of the highest functionaries of the state and was sentenced to death. There were one hundred and twenty-seven judges, and as they all knew the verdict they were expected to give, there could not be much doubt as to what it would be. According to some authorities the tsarevitch was beheaded. Lady Rondeau, the wife of the English resident, gives a story of a girl being employed to sew on the head of the corpse, so as to hide all traces of his having been decapitated. Peter Henry Bruce—whose memoirs are, however, regarded by some writers as spurious—speaks of a poison, procured from an apothecary at St. Petersburg, having been administered to the prince. It appears most probable that the unfortunate young man expired under the knout. He died on July 7, 1718. It was given out that he had died of an apoplectic stroke. One is reminded of the letter sent by the Russian minister to foreign courts on the death of Paul. Peter showed no signs of grief; the very day after his son's death the anniversary of the battle of Poltava was celebrated. In the case of Alexis, as on so many other occasions in Russian history, pretenders made their appearance, who were, however, all dealt with in summary fashion.

In 1721 Peter promulgated a ukase, afterward abrogated by Paul, to the effect that the tsar had the right of naming his successor. By this injudicious law the way was paved for the *revolutions de palais* and weak female reigns, till Catherine II. had seated herself on the throne.

We must now retrace our steps a little to consider the action of Peter with regard to Persia. His eastern policy has been briefly alluded to. He had great ideas of the important trade which the Russians might carry on with Asia. In 1717 he sent Prince Bekovich to open negotiations with the Khans of Khiva and Bokhara; he was to offer these potentates the opportunity of becoming

tributary to Russia. With a regiment of 7500 men Bekovich sailed across the Caspian. The Khivans, seeing his approach, suspected that the expedition was altogether a military one, and not merely for commercial purposes. But Bekovich, although a Circassian, who must have been acquainted with oriental stratagem, was so imprudent as to visit the khan for a personal interview with but a small escort. He was treacherously seized and killed.

In spite of the failure of this attempt, Peter did not lose hope of reaching the wealthy regions he coveted, and he made use of the disturbed condition of Persia to strengthen his influence in the East. In that country a sanguinary civil war had been raging for more than twelve years. Shah Hussein, knowing nothing that took place outside of his seraglio and surrounded by unworthy favorites, had lost the affection of his subjects by a rule as weak as it was cruel. The Afghans were especially embittered against him, particularly those in the neighborhood of Kandahar. In 1709 they openly arose. They found a leader who promised them freedom from the hateful Persian yoke. He succeeded in defeating the soldiers of the shah, and threw even Ispahan into a state of agitation. Hussein, through the instrumentality of the Russian resident, Artemii Volinski, as early as 1712 asked the Russian tsar for assistance. Peter at that time had enough to occupy his attention, and moreover had only recently extricated himself from his unfortunate escapade on the Pruth. The rebel leader died about this time, and was succeeded by his son Mahmoud, who was even a greater terror to the Persians than his father had been. He took Ispahan, imprisoned Hussein, and declared himself shah. But the son of Hussein, Tahmasp, succeeded in escaping from his hands, and determined to try conclusions with him. Feeling, however, that he had hardly an adequate force, he asked the Russian tsar and the Sultan of Turkey for assistance. Peter resolved to help him for various reasons. The supporters of Mahmoud kept the Caucasus in a continual state of agitation; gangs of robbers plundered the Russian merchants without hindrance, and in Shemahia alone murdered 300 men; and the Russian silk-trade was almost extinguished. Moreover, Peter had discovered that the sultan was about to send forces into the Persian provinces, not so much with a view of coöperating with Tahmasp as of establishing Turkish rule between the Black and Caspian Seas.

This was a disagreeable prospect for the Russians. Volinski

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ascertained that the Persian troops were in a very disaffected condition; that the shah had rewarded the Khan of Khiva for the murder of Bekovich, and that the Persians were expecting an attack from the Russian forces. Thinking to settle the matter by a decisive blow, Peter set out in person. He had been urged to do so by Volinski, who was now governor of Astrakhan. He started toward the end of May, 1722, taking with him the empress, who had accompanied him in so many journeys, Admiral Apraxin, Tolstoi, and Prince Cantemir. Peter had issued a proclamation to the effect that he had only come to chastise those who had attacked and plundered the Russians.

On the first appearance of the invaders, Tarki, the capital of Shakhmat, and the fortified port of Derbent, surrendered without a struggle. The tsar then moved on to Baku, the inhabitants of which sent messengers to welcome him and to entreat him to take them under his protection. But unforeseen events necessitated the return of the army to Astrakhan. He accordingly left a garrison in Derbent and built a fort on the River Sulak. He found that a storm had scattered his ships and that the army was in imminent danger of famine. At Astrakhan he had a violent attack of illness, but he used his enforced leisure to make arrangements for the future acquisition of these districts; and he eventually got possession of Resht, situated at the south of the Caspian. It was on July 19, 1722, that the Russian flag first waved over that sea.

When the tsar returned to St. Petersburg an ambassador came to him from Tahmasp to negotiate a defensive treaty. In the name of the shah he ceded to Russia the towns of Derbent and Baku, and the districts of Gilyan, Mazanderan, and Astrabad, Peter, on his part, promising to send a body of troops to assist Tahmasp. Turkey viewed with disapproval the interference of Russia in the affairs of Persia, but was pacified when Peter consented that she should occupy Georgia, the country of the Lesghians, the Tavlintses, Lower Daghestan, and a part of Shirvan.

Tahmasp, however, did not confirm the treaty made by his ambassador in St. Petersburg, and the Russian soldiers who occupied Gilyan were as much called upon to defend themselves against his supporters as against the allies of Mahmoud. Peter was not prepared to give up his acquisitions on the southern shores of the Caspian, and was only prevented from carrying out his designs by his premature death.

Thus we see Russia expanding in every direction through the vigorous measures of this great tsar. The Turks kept intriguing against her, assisted from time to time by some of the European powers, for the Eastern question was now fast developing itself. In 1724 Peter succeeded in effecting arrangements for a demarcation of frontier between the Russian and Turkish provinces, and Rumiantsov was sent to Constantinople to ratify the treaty. Peter allowed many Armenians to settle in his new territories.

We now come to the dealings of Peter with Holstein-Gottorp, the reigning family of which was to be so closely connected with that of Russia. Duke Frederick, the friend and coadjutor of Charles XII., lost his life in the battle of Klissovo in 1702. He left his possessions to his son (two years of age), by his wife, Hedwig Sophia, the elder sister of Charles XII. A kinsman of the young duke, the bishop of Lübeck, took upon himself the management of affairs, and conducted matters successfully till 1713. He observed a strict neutrality at the time of the war in the north after the battle of Poltava. When, however, Peter defeated Stenbock, the governor gave shelter to the Swedish general in Holstein, and permitted him to enter Tönningen. The Danish king, who only awaited an occasion to quarrel with the duke, declared the proceedings of the governor an infringement of the neutrality. He accordingly occupied Schleswig with his troops. In vain did the duke seek protection from Charles XII. on the latter's return from Turkey; the king had not the power to assist his nephew, although he loved him as a son and saw in him his successor. The sudden death of Charles took from the duke the last hope of getting back his dominions. Deprived of the Swedish throne, which belonged to him by right, as the son of the eldest sister of Charles, he found a bitter enemy in his aunt Ulrika. She deprived him not only of the crown of Sweden, but of his hereditary dominion, Schleswig, having handed it over to the King of Denmark. The duke had tried to procure the mediation of the court of Vienna, which had guaranteed the Treaty of Travendale. Being, however, disappointed in this direction, he betook himself to the Russian emperor.

In the beginning of the year 1721 he came to St. Petersburg, and there saw Anna, the eldest daughter of Peter, a woman of some beauty, and offered her his hand. Peter interceded for the nephew of Charles at the Congress of Nystad. Among the conditions of peace he demanded that the Swedish Government should

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recognize the rights of the duke to the Swedish crown, and to Schleswig. But Ostermann informed the tsar that there was no hope of this end being attained. Ulrika had given her throne to her husband, the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, who was making every effort to ensure it for his posterity. Moreover, Russia was now being threatened by Turkey, and the terms of the peace must of necessity be concluded speedily. Peter yielded, but promised the young duke that he would, as soon as possible, renew his mediation. He kept his word. Soon after the Treaty of Nystad, owing to his efforts, the Swedish senate recognized the rights of Frederick to the crown of that country, and accorded him the title of Royal Highness. When the tsar married his daughter to the duke he demanded from the King of Denmark the restitution of Schleswig. This was refused. The tsar accordingly began to form plans for coercing Denmark, with the help of Sweden, and a war would certainly have broken out, but all preparations were stopped by the premature death of Peter. Anna survived her father only three years, dying in 1728. Her child was the unfortunate Peter III.

With the reign of the great tsar may be said to commence the active interference of the Russians in the affairs of Poland, which was one of the chief causes of the break-up of that country. She had two vigilant foes, who were resolved never to let her rest. The Polish question, with that of Sweden and that of Turkey, were the three great political problems which Peter found himself called upon to face. There had been many disputes between Russia and Poland in earlier times; Bathory had great designs against Ivan the Terrible, and was only prevented from parceling out Russia by the mediation of Possevino, the Jesuit. The Poles had favored the attempt of the false Dmitri to get the Russian crown, and Ladislaus, the son of Sigismund III., had even sat on the Muscovite throne. We find the Russians interfering in favor of the orthodox Christians in Lithuania. In the time of Alexis Russia had begun to get back some of the territory which the Poles had conquered, and Peter interfered in Polish affairs with a high hand. He supported the candidature of Augustus II., as worthless a man as his rival, Stanislaus Leczinski, was a good one. Prince Gregory Dalgorukov, the resident of Peter at Warsaw, even tampered with the diet, just as we find Repnin doing in the reign of Catherine II. There were not lacking, however, selfish magnates who could be influenced by bribes to forward the Russian plans. The religious

persecutions which the Jesuits had introduced gave to the Prussian king and to Peter ample opportunity for interference.

Peter had always been careless of his person. He had fearlessly exposed himself to all climates, and had committed many excesses in eating and drinking. When he was about fifty years of age his robust constitution began to show signs of weakness. He further impaired it by spending much time in the marshes superintending the works of the Ladoga canal, accompanied by Münnich, who was afterward to play such an important part in Russian history. He also undertook a journey into Finland at a very unseasonable time of the year. He entered the port of Lachta on November 5, 1725, and there witnessed the dangers to which some soldiers and sailors were exposed in a small vessel. Seeing that they were unable to help themselves, he jumped into a skiff, and thence into the sea, and so reached the stranded vessel. He succeeded in rescuing the crew at the risk of his life, a striking proof that he was a brave, and, on occasion, a humane man. But the same night the chill brought on an old malady. He fell into a violent fever. Ill, however, as he was, his mind was active, and he gave commission to the navigator Bering for a voyage. He suffered a great deal, but was able to dictate to those round him his last orders. He entreated Catherine to protect his Academy of Sciences, and to invite learned men to it from other parts of Europe. He then pointed out Ostermann to her, saying: "Russia cannot do without him; he is the only man who knows her real interests." He then, in a calm manner, fixed the time during which mourning should be worn for him, and on February 28, about four o'clock in the morning, the end came.

As regards the character of Peter, it has been so often depicted —from the point of view both of his admirers and detractors—that nothing need be added here. The reader will probably be better able to understand the man if he reflects that, in spite of all the profound appreciation of western civilization which Peter showed, there were deep traces in him of his Asiatic training—ideas of absolute autocracy, and recklessness of human life and suffering. When we remember the originality and vigor of his mind, we cannot justly refuse him the title of Great.

It remains to consider the constitutional and other changes introduced by Peter into Russia. First of these were his church reforms. The great powers given to the patriarch could not have

been acceptable to a man imbued with such truly autocratic ideas as Peter was. He must in his youth have heard much of the controversies between his father and the pugnacious Nikon, who had so nearly carried his point, and elevated the authority of the church above that of the throne. In the Protestant countries which he visited during his travels, and notably in England, Peter could not help realizing that the sovereign was regarded as the head of the church, and had a substantial control over religious matters, and the instruction had not been lost upon him. When the Patriarch Adrian died he did not appoint a successor. He did not wish to see the patriarchate continued with the same powers. He felt that in that case his attempts to regenerate Russia would be impeded, for Adrian had been a strong reactionary. A metropolitan was accordingly appointed, and the supreme religious authority was not concentrated as before in one person; the regulation of ecclesiastical matters was intrusted to a newly created synod. The Dukhovni Reglament marked out with definite precision the rights and duties of the clergy, and also the limits of their power and responsibilities. A procurator was appointed from among the civil functionaries, who had similar authority to that of the general procurator in the senate.

Another reform was the appointment of civilians to investigate the ecclesiastical revenues, some of which in the modern spirit Peter wished to divert to schools and hospitals. Finally he conceived the idea, afterward attempted by Peter III., and fully carried out by Catherine II., of taking over the ecclesiastical revenues and making them national property, fixed stipends being assigned to the clergy. During the reign of Peter there was a very prevalent desire in ecclesiastical circles in England to bring about a union between the Anglican and Greek churches. The latter, however, on this, as on subsequent occasions, refused to make any concessions to the Anglicans, and thus matters have remained *in statu quo*.[1] In nothing does the bold character of Peter stand out more prominently than in his ecclesiastical reforms. These drastic changes could have only been carried out by an iron will, for, as has been well remarked,

[1] The overtures for union were made by a section of the non-jurors, and not by the Anglicans. A basis of agreement might have been reached but for the untimely death of the tsar. The very interesting correspondence between the non-jurors, the tsar, and the patriarchs of the eastern church was published in 1868 by the Rev. George Williams from manuscripts in the diocesan library of Salisbury. Whether Peter intended to use the non-jurors as tools for his Jacobite designs cannot be proved.

although the Russian is politically so docile, he is unfettered in his religious convictions and goes his own way. This is amply evidenced by the great number of religious sects in Russia, the Old Ritualists and hundreds of others, who have undergone the most terrible persecutions rather than give up their special forms of creed or ritual. It is gratifying to be able to add that Peter displayed toleration toward some of these sectarians. Smirnov has shown, in his studies of the Mordvinians and other Ugro-Finnish races, that Peter was entirely opposed to the violent and wholesale "conversions" which the priests were supposed to be carrying on. Of course as an innovator, toleration was, in the nature of things, to be expected of him. Some writers have not hesitated to call him a free-thinker.

Another great reform of Peter's was the reorganization of the ranks of the nobility. The word *dvorianin,* that is nobleman, before this time had signified a person holding a rank between a *stolnik,* who attended the tsar at his table, and a *zhilets,* literally a householder, but used in a technical sense to mean a man who resided at Moscow and could be employed by the tsar on military service. It was now used to signify a man who had obtained the rights to distinction either by his own services or the services of his ancestors. In 1722 Peter had divided all officials into fourteen classes. He further declared that the rank of superior officer in the military service, and in the case of civilians the eighth class should confer an hereditary right of nobility, even though those who received it might have been of plebeian origin. This right was also conceded to those persons who could show that they were descended from noble families who had served their country in honorable callings. The descendants of these noble families could not acquire the right of alienation over their immovable property until they had served seven years in the army or ten years in a civil capacity. Had these rules not been complied with they remained till old age minors.

In the year 1714 Peter issued a memorable ukase, the terms of which, however, were afterward changed by the Empress Anne. According to this, a nobleman had not the right of selling or mortgaging his land, but was compelled to leave it in its entirety to some one of his sons, whichever he preferred; his money and chattels were to go to his other children. The object of this law was to prevent the partition of family estates, which, according to Peter's

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idea, was both prejudicial to the nobles themselves, who thereby fell into poverty, and also to the state, which lost its revenues. He hoped by keeping estates in the hands of one individual to augment the class of industrial and learned workers. He hoped, also, that those members of noble families who had no land would seek professional callings, and in other ways make use of their brains, so that in this way a middle class might be gradually created. There can hardly be said to have existed a middle class in Russia before the time of Peter; it was one of his aims to create one. Had a reformer with similar ideas appeared in Poland, the downward course of that unfortunate country might probably have been stopped. It was the development of a middle class which had enabled the nations of the West to outgrow their feudal institutions. Unfortunately in the case of Poland the position of the middle classes was occupied by aliens—to wit, Germans and Jews. The former were to be found in Russia, though to a less extent, while the latter hardly existed at all.

Another reformation of Peter's was to give protection to the merchant class. These were divided into guilds, as were the artisans into corporations. There has been always a tendency among Russian mechanics and other craftsmen to form themselves into artels, as they are called, living together and having a common table. The development of a professional class was, of course, a slower matter. For a long time the Russians looked upon a physician or surgeon as a wizard or medicine man, and indeed that is the first meaning of the word vratch, now in such common use. From the time of Ivan the Terrible foreign medical men had occasionally visited the country, often exposing themselves to great perils. During the reign of that sovereign the Dutch physician Bomelius was put to death for supposed intrigues with the King of Poland. During the riot of the strelitz, on the accession of Peter, the mob had murdered another Dutch physician, looking upon him as a wizard. The one safe place for these foreigners was the foreign quarter, which was called derisively by the common people nalei, because it was the place where intoxicating liquors could be obtained during the time of the severe fasts of the Greek Church. But to find the middle class substantially benefited by reform, we must wait till the nakaz of Catherine II.

The tsar had planned an academy, and the outlines of it were submitted by him to Leibnitz, whom he had occassionally met dur-

ing his travels in Germany. Leibnitz is said to have approved entirely of his plans. But they were not destined to be carried out until Peter was in his grave. We have already spoken of his practice of sending young men out of Russia to be educated. Even at the beginning of the seventeenth century this method of training citizens had been adopted by Boris Godunov. The latter sent four young men to England.

Peter also caused a number of useful books to be written, and others to be translated into Russian. He started, too, the first Russian newspaper; and he even modified the Slavonic alphabet, making it more suitable for printing by rejecting some of the useless letters. A very marked change comes over the literature of Russia. Such literature as she had previously had consisted chiefly of dry chronicles, hymns, and lives of saints. The new literature was to take form upon French models, as was only natural. It begins with Antioch Cantemir (1708-1744), the son of that Dmitri with whom Peter had been brought into contact at the time of the disastrous expedition on the Pruth. Cantemir was ambassador at the courts of St. James and Versailles. He was evidently well acquainted with the writings of Pope and Boileau, and he also translated Fontenelle on "The Plurality of Worlds." His poetry being imitative, took the form of satire, which is, in reality, rather a late stage of literary development, in that it implies a nation sufficiently strong and self-confident to criticise itself.

Cantemir's satires have a good deal of merit and appear to have attracted attention even in other countries, a translation of them into French verse having been published in London in 1750. The author was, doubtless, a well-read man and had a good library; for among the papers concerning him, which Professor Aleksandrenko of Warsaw found in Paris, is a list of his books made when they were about to be sent back to Russia after his decease. Among them we find the names of many English authors.

Libraries of considerable magnitude were now beginning to be formed in Russia. Thus we are told that Dmitri Galitzin had a large library at Arkhangelskoe, near Moscow. A little later on we hear of the great number of books belonging to Volinski, a prominent man of the days of Peter, and governor of Astrakhan. Nor was Peter lacking in interest in literature for its own sake. On his second tour as he passed through Rheims, he saw there the celebrated *Texte du Sacre,* the book upon which the French kings

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took the oath at their coronation. This curious volume, consisting of religious extracts partly in Glagolitic and partly in Cyrillic letters, appears to have belonged originally to a monastery founded by the Emperor Charles IV. at Prague. Afterward in some unexplained way it was taken to Constantinople and was there purchased by a French cardinal. It seems to have been regarded by the French kings as a kind of sacred hieroglyphic, for no one clearly knew in what language it was written. When Peter saw it he is reported to have at once read it, saying, "This is my own Slavonic." At the time of the Revolution the book disappeared, having probably been carried off on account of the precious stones which adorned the cover. When it was found afterward it had been stripped of its gorgeous binding.

Of the foundation of the new capital by Peter we have already spoken. It was more than a window through which to look at Europe, as Algarotti said. It secured to the shipbuilding tsar a certain amount of coast line and the necessary outlet for his fleet. The acquisition of a footing upon the Black Sea, which was at first a Turkish but has now become a Russian lake, was not to follow until later. It was in 1713 that St. Petersburg was for the most part built, ten years after the foundations had been laid. Here Peter was to symbolize the return of Russia to her old position as a European state before the iron yoke of the Mongols had been laid upon her. It was a costly business and perhaps not in all respects a wise one, having regard to the proximity of the sea and the great risk of inundation, as events proved, indeed, in the time of Alexander I. The ground could not be safely built upon until vast piles had been driven into it; even now buildings occasionally sink, and the magnificent cathedral of St. Isaac has lately had to have its foundations strengthened. The city lies amid marshes on the left bank of the Neva, which flows from Lake Ladoga into the Baltic. Here were originally to be seen a few huts of Finnish fishermen grouped around the pillar erected by Gustavus Adolphus after the Treaty of Stolbovo in 1617 to mark his triumphant treaty with the Russians and to fix a limit to their progress. The ground upon which the pillar stood is now comprised within the heart of the city.

Peter's new creation consisted of a series of buildings in the Dutch style, then so prevalent throughout Europe. To build it as many as 40,000 laborers were employed, brought, in many cases,

from the most remote parts of the empire. Hither were sent many of the refractory Cossacks after Peter had quelled the rebellion. On occasion, too, he would stop all work at the quarries throughout the empire so that the quarrymen and stone masons might be available for St. Petersburg. Many of these workmen perished by disease, as the climate was unhealthful on account of the marshes, and even now the inhabitants cannot be said to enjoy longevity. It is said that the population would noticeably shrink if it were not for the large importation of foreigners and people from other parts of Russia, seeking their fortunes in the metropolis. Inundations occurred from time to time during the building of the city, and it became necessary to raise the level of the ground by the formation of vast mounds. Finally, the canals of Vishnevolotski and Ladoga had to be constructed.

Thus sprang into existence the majestic city of St. Petersburg, rising over the water with her tiara of proud towers, a symbol of Russia's advancing strides along the paths of civilization. The poetic aspect of the scene was much enhanced when the French sculptor Falconet in the reign of Catherine II. accomplished its crowning ornament—a striking equestrian statue of Peter the Great. There the great reformer, from a mighty block of granite, points triumphantly to the city which he has called into being from the waters. And we feel that we are standing in the presence and surrounded by the creations of a master-mind.

Like Napoleon in later years, Peter showed himself a true judge of men, and continued to gather round him, regardless of social and other considerations, the most capable fellow-workers, for whom he searched everywhere, not disdaining to take them from the lowest social positions when he saw their capacity. These were his eaglets; these were the men he had trained, some foreigners and some Russians who had shaken off the prejudices and superstitions of their race and were ready to dare great things; and if we would know Peter thoroughly we must understand these men also. They form a motley group; some died before their great master; those who survived him were enabled to carry on his work. Not all of them indeed have escaped belittlement at the hands of posterity; but it is enough that these foreigners and Russians conferred signal benefits upon the country, and their memories must be tenderly dealt with. *Magna voluisse magnum.* These men who bore the heat and burden of the day were very different from some of the

later adventurers, of the times of Anne and Elizabeth and even of the great Catherine, who came to Russia to make a career and acquire opulence. These latter too often loaded the country where they had failed with abuse as soon as they found themselves safely beyond the frontiers, and it is from them that many of the anecdotes to the discredit of Russia have emanated.

The eaglets of Peter have been already mentioned in their respective places. Let it suffice here to recall the names of the Swiss Lefort, who taught Peter in his youth but died before the end of the century and was not destined to witness the full glories of his great pupil; of Patrick Gordon, of Sheremetiev, Menshikov, Apraxin, Galitzin, and Golovkin. During the latter part of Peter's reign Menshikov, who had at one time enjoyed his unbounded favor, began to lose his influence. After the Peace of Nystad he was made vice-admiral. Being left head of the senate during Peter's absence on the Persian expedition Menshikov incurred the tsar's displeasure by his unseemly quarrel with Shavirov. When the latter was condemned, the tsar could not be blind to the faults of his former favorite. He was subjected to a severe examination and was deprived of the presidency of the military college; and his final disgrace was imminent at the time of Peter's death. But he was still to play a very important part in the destinies of Russia.

Count Golovkin, one of the tsar's most important diplomatists, was his inseparable companion in all his expeditions. He watched over the relations of Russia with foreign courts in the capacity of imperial chancellor. Baron Shavirov performed important services to Russia in concluding the Treaty of the Pruth and preventing Turkey from utilizing the advantage which Peter by his carelessness had enabled her to seize. Shavirov was of Jewish origin, but had become a Christian. His original name was Schaffer, *i. e.*, the agent. He was made a baron in 1711. In the last years of the reign of the tsar he fell into disfavor and was deprived of his titles. He was sentenced to be beheaded in 1723, but pardoned.

Concerning Ostermann, another of the tsar's coöperators, we shall hear a great deal more in the subsequent reigns. It will suffice to say here that he was a diplomatist in the truest sense of the word, and had been the moving spirit in the Congresses of the Aland Islands and Nystad. Another clever diplomatist was Yagushinski, of whom also we shall hear again in the course of our narrative.

In treating of the creation of the Russian navy, the great services of Admiral Apraxin call for mention. He distinguished himself alike in the Black Sea and the Baltic, and in 1722 he accompanied Peter in his Persian campaign and was the first to fly an admiral's flag in the Caspian Sea.

How great a part was played by Englishmen and Dutchmen in the formation of Peter's navy appears from a contemporary account by an Englishman who must have been in his service, which has recently been published from the original manuscript by the Navy Records Society.[2] It has been supposed that the author was Captain John Deane. As, however, that person is mentioned without any comment in the course of the narrative, it is hardly possible that such can have been the case. Here we find lists of Peter's ships and their commanders, and many curious notes on minute matters concerned with his navy. We are told continually of ships being sent from Holland and England. In 1713 we have details of the punishment of some of Peter's officers for not having successfully resisted the Swedes. Apraxin was the president of the court-martial at which Vice-Admiral Cruys was sentenced to death for neglect of duty in 1712 and 1713, but Peter mitigated the punishment and ordered his banishment to Kazan. When this was read over to him in "Hollands" (*i. e.*, Hollandsch = Dutch), the accused replied, with a bow, "What his majesty pleases." Captain Scheltinga was then sentenced to serve as youngest captain during his majesty's pleasure. Last of all, Captain Ray's sentence was published; he had not made use of an excellent opportunity to take or destroy three ships of the enemy. He was condemned to be conducted to the place of execution and shot. In pursuance of the sentence he was led directly to the post, which was but a few paces distant, and a file of musketeers being ready, the word of command was given to present arms; then the tsar's pardon was read, and his sentence was commuted into perpetual banishment to Siberia. "The fear of death," says the writer, "had seized him with that violence that when they lifted up his cap from over his eyes, and took him up from his knees, he said in the Russian tongue: 'Luchey Polley' (*i. e.*, *Luchshe pali*), ''tis better shoot me.' He was carried to an adjacent house and let blood, and in two or three days' time sent into

[2] "History of the Russian Fleet during the Reign of Peter the Great," by a contemporary Englishman, 1724. London, 1899.

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exile, where, lingering a few years, he died in Sibera. He had never quite recovered from the effects of his fright. Peter appears to have dealt habitually in a summary way with his officers, as witness his treatment of Jansen, who had played the traitor at the siege of Azov.

The first actual contact with the Swedes at sea had been in 1703. In this year the Russians took and razed to the ground Nienschantz, a small town and garrison, and sent the inhabitants to live in different parts of Russia. A squadron of Swedish ships of war arrived at the Island Retusari, which was the Finnish name of Kotlin Ostrov. They were ignorant of what had happened at Nienschantz, and sent two vessels to inquire into the state of the garrison. About two miles up the river they saw the Russian army on both sides, and perceived that the place was taken. They stayed, however, for some time, making observations even in the face of the enemy. The tsar thereupon ordered a certain number of men in boats to await at the bar the return of the Swedes. This was a place full of shoals without beacons to direct the ships, and abounding with sandbanks. All of which circumstances favored the Russians. The Swedes observed the boats and determined to return to their fleet, but when they reached the bar were attacked by the Russians, who poured "incessant volleys of shot from every quarter." The Swedish vessels made a brave defense, but were captured after a desperate resistance, and not until most of the men had been killed. Immediately after the surrender the tsar came on board one, and finding the mate who had commanded the boats alive, ordered care to be taken of his wounds. He ultimately recovered and entered the tsar's service. His name, according to the record of an anonymous Englishman, was Karl van Werden. The tsar, he goes on to say, thought this affair a good omen, although it was but a trivial skirmish.

At the time of Peter's death the following members of the royal family were alive. It is necessary to keep this list clearly in mind, in order to be able to understand the confused and disputed successions which were to follow:

1. The Empress Catherine, his second wife. The divorced Eudoxia was still in existence, but confined in a nunnery. At the time of Peter's death she was not regarded as having any right in connection with the imperial family.

2. Three children by Peter's second marriage—the Princesses

Elizabeth, Natalia, and Anna—the last-named being married to Karl Friedrich of Holstein-Gottorp.

3. Two children of Alexis, Peter's son by his first wife, *viz.*, Peter and Natalia.

4. Of the children of Ivan, the brother of Peter, there remained three, *viz.:*

Catherine, who was married on Peter's second journey through Europe, at Dantzic, to Karl Leopold, Duke of Mecklenburg. This marriage had turned out a very unhappy one, and ended in Catherine living apart from her husband. She continued to reside in St. Petersburg, where we shall hear more about her subsequently. She was the mother of the unhappy Anna Leopoldovna, who became the mother of the infant Emperor Ivan VI., and died in Kholmogori. Her husband was Anthony Ulrich, Prince of Brunswick. Anne, afterward empress, married Frederick, Duke of Courland. There was also another daughter.

Chapter V

THE REIGNS OF CATHERINE I. AND PETER II.
1725-1730

THE antecedents of the Empress Catherine have already been alluded to. It is difficult to understand exactly what charms Peter saw in her. She is universally described as having been a homely person. She seems, however, to have been a cheerful woman, who knew how to humor the caprices of her husband and to soothe him in times of weariness or illness. His love for her appears to have been a genuine passion, and he probably with his oriental notions considered that it did not matter from what rank of life he took a mistress or a wife. Like eastern despots, he could make and unmake at pleasure. His whole life was a rebellion against convention and authority. He did not like the restrictions of a court and the isolation in which women lived under the old Muscovite régime, when neither the tsaritsa nor her daughters could dine with the tsar, but languished in the terem.

It was in 1705 that Martha, then aged twenty-three years, began to live with Peter. She entered the Greek Church and received the name of Catherine. As Peter was continually obliged to be absent, it is not a little curious to note, in the letters which have been preserved, the ever-increasing tenderness with which he writes to her. In the first years Peter calls her simply "Mother"; from 1709 onward he adds a tender greeting, and sometimes uses the Dutch word *moeder*. We have already called attention to the fondness of Peter for employing occasionally Dutch words, as that was the only language which he knew besides his own. His tone becomes more endearing at the end of 1711, because in that year he had made her his wife. Very many of these letters purport to have been accompanied by presents, which furnish evidence of the warmth of his affection for her. In 1710 her public reception into the Russian church took place under the name of Yekaterina Alexievna. In same year she was styled Gosudarina, and in 1711 she was publicly married to the tsar. Peter

did not take her with him to Paris, fearing, perhaps, that his homely wife would suffer by contrast with Parisian ladies; so also when, during that journey, he had a meeting at Stettin with the King of Prussia and at Altona with the King of Denmark, Catherine was not present. She joined him, however, at Schwerin, and he took her with him to Rostock. Her daughter Elizabeth was, according to the tsar's intention, to become the wife of Louis XV. if the union could be brought about; but we are told that the French considered such a marriage derogatory to their king, seeing that her mother was of such humble origin. However, the idea was for a long while in the air. When Louis did marry, at the age of fifteen, a union was arranged by court intrigues with the daughter of the wise and good Stanislaus Leczinski, but the marriage was equally a mésalliance, as Stanislaus was a king without a kingdom.

On the death of the great tsar the court was divided into two sharply outlined parties. The reactionaries, who still looked with no favorable eyes upon Peter's reforms, wished to raise to the throne Peter, the son of Alexis, a mere boy. On the other hand the progressives, with Menshikov at their head, favored the succession of Catherine, hoping to attain through her power for themselves and the continued development of European civilization in Russia. Peter the Great made no will; Catherine, however, was a favorite with the army. In some of the old pictures we see her wearing a cocked hat and in the dress in which she appeared at the head of her own regiment. Despite the fact, therefore, that the idea of a female sovereign was strange to the Russian mind, the party of reform eventually triumphed, and Catherine succeeded to the throne of her husband.

The chief power now lay in the hands of Menshikov. The fortunes of this favorite of Peter had been at a rather low ebb at the time of the great tsar's death. He was not without petty vices with all his great qualities, and we have already spoken of his pride, ostentation, and inordinate love of money. Some of his ill-gotten wealth Peter had made him give up, and perhaps he would have fallen into permanent disgrace if the tsar had lived. He was now, however, as we have said, all powerful. On the accession of Catherine he received a gift of fifty thousand peasants, in addition to the town of Baturin, in the Ukraine, which had formerly belonged to Mazeppa. When the perfidy of that arch-

traitor became known, Peter had at once sent Menshikov to seize Baturin. Beyond all question he was the most powerful as well as the richest man in Russia at the time, and enjoyed almost royal honors.

The reign of Catherine was short, lasting little more than two years, and was comparatively barren of events. The government was administered by a supreme privy council, as it was termed, which comprised Menshikov, Apraxin, Golovkin, Tolstoi, Galitzin, and Ostermann. The last of these was a Westphalian German, who had attracted the notice of Peter, and one of the few honest persons by whom the tsar had been served. He was now intrusted with the important office of governor of the youthful Peter. The other names we are already familiar with as having been instrumental in helping Peter to carry out his reforms.

In 1726 an English fleet appeared in the Baltic. George I. seems to have considered that the Russian armaments were menacing the peace of Europe. On this occasion Catherine displayed a good deal of spirit, and Ostermann said: "If the English ministers think that they can treat us like children they will find themselves greatly mistaken." But the English threats came to nothing, and George I. only found himself met by a coalition of hostile powers, and dropped his bluster. Catherine, taking advantage of the ukase of Peter, nominated as her successor Peter, the son of the unfortunate Alexis, and in default of Peter and his issue, Elizabeth and Anna, her own daughters. Anna died in 1728, the year after her mother; and her son was eventually destined to succeed as Peter III. The absolute fairness of this arrangement is striking. The empress died May 17, 1727, in the thirty-ninth year of her age.

A very careful plan had been drawn up for the young tsar's education by Ostermann, to whom Russia owed so much, and according to the accounts of those who were in attendance upon him, he displayed a good deal of ability.

About this time Menshikov very sensibly made some concessions to the Cossacks, whom Peter had treated with great severity. The latter had never forgiven their revolt under Mazeppa. They now regained some of their old independence, but the Setch, as their military position on the Dnieper was called, was never restored in its ancient vigor. The Cossacks of the Dnieper had suffered much under their Polish masters. Their privileges had been

largely encroached upon; the permission to distill brandy, upon which they set so much store, had been taken away. They were, however, but little better off under Russian rule: the principal relief accorded to them was that their religion was no longer to be interfered with, for the Poles had been forever trying to convert them to the Roman Church. In a little time the hetmanship of the Cossacks was to become a mere honorary office held by court favorites.

Menshikov's ascendency, however, was of short duration. In August, 1727, he compelled the Duke of Holstein with Anna, his wife, to quit Russia. In May of that year the emperor had made him commander in chief of the Russian forces, and he forthwith began to be courted by foreign potentates, the German emperor giving him an estate in Silesia. But by degrees his arrogance became intolerable, and the boy tsar, who was now beginning to feel his feet, entered into a contest with him which could end only in one way. At first Menshikov was deprived of his various offices. Then he was arrested and ordered to be confined in his own house. This last blow gave rise to an apoplectic stroke. At length he was commanded to quit St. Petersburg and to live upon his estates in the Ukraine, his departure from the capital being more like a triumphal procession than that of a man in disfavor with his sovereign going into exile.

The new favorites of the tsar were the Dolgorukis, who had been largely instrumental in bringing about the fall of Menshikov. The court was removed to Moscow, where the young tsar was almost wholly engrossed with field sports in the forests round the ancient capital. His grandmother, the Tsaritsa Eudoxia, was released from her monastic seclusion. She was present at Peter's coronation, but he did not receive her with any warmth, and she sank again into obscurity. Menshikov up to this time had been allowed to reside on his estates in the Ukraine; but now, on the plea that he had been concerned in a conspiracy, his enemies contended that more severe measures should be taken against him. His vast property was confiscated for the benefit of the treasury, and he was found to be possessed of fourteen millions of rubles in money and bank notes, and some millions worth of gold, silver, and precious stones, in addition to the landed estates. The family was banished to Berezov, one of the most dreary places in Siberia. It lies a thousand versts to the north of Tobolsk, and was inhabited

1729

at the time by some Ostiaks. The winter there lasts for seven months of the year, the thermometer frequently falling to forty degrees of frost. The exiles were permitted to take a few servants, and five rubles a day were allowed for their maintenance. With Menshikov went his son Alexander, aged thirteen, and his daughter Mary, aged sixteen, who had been betrothed to the emperor. The ring of betrothal had been taken from her on her way from St. Petersburg by a courier sent by the tsar. Besides these there was another daughter named Alexandra, aged fourteen. The sister of Menshikov was sent into a monastery. His wife, who had never shared the unpopularity of her husband, is said to have wept herself blind with grief; she died just before they reached Kazan, on the road to Siberia. Soon after they had left Kazan the exiles, in their dreary march, were met by the party of Bering explorers who had been sent out by Menshikov himself to explore eastern Siberia. They were amazed to see the late master of Russia in the garb of a convict, with a long unkempt beard; and the bride of the emperor dressed in sheepskins. As he entered Tobolsk, Menshikov was met by an exile whom he himself had sent to Siberia, and the latter began to revile him. "My friend," said the fallen minister, "forgive me, if I have injured you—and if abuse of me relieves you, continue to abuse me." Another exile pelted the children of Menshikov with mud. "You ought to throw it at me and not at them—they are to blame in nothing," said Menshikov calmly.

When he came to the place of exile he again applied the ax, which he had learned to use when with his imperial master at Saardam and Deptford. He built for himself a little house and a chapel. His children shared with him the labors of the humble home. In spite of his many failings we feel that there was something grand in Menshikov, and he never seemed grander than in his desolate home among the northern snows. He endured all with the stoicism of the Russian: a placid submission to fate and the will of heaven. His eldest daughter, however, could not stand the rigors of the climate and the privations she was called upon to undergo. He closed her eyes, fell on the earth near her body and wept, but after a few minutes rose up firmly and said aloud: "There is rest for the holy!" He made a coffin and dug a grave for the dead girl in the frozen earth, and marked out a grave for himself close by.

Some strange and romantic stories have gathered round the

memory of Mary Menshikov. A certain prince, Feodor Dolgorukov, who was attached to her, is said to have come to Berezov and been privately married to her there. The inhabitants of Berezov, we read, occasionally saw her walking with her husband on the banks of the River Sosva, but, poetical as this story may be, probably it has little basis of truth.

Menshikov did not long survive his daughter. He died on November 1, 1729, in the fifty-seventh year of his age—the same year (as Russian authors do not fail to note) in which Catherine II. and Suvarov were born. His grave is still shown at Berezov. Such was the end of a remarkable man, whose life was so full of dramatic incident. Raised from the humblest position, he had, after accompanying the tsar on his travels, attained the highest dignities to which a Russian subject could aspire. He was great in the field and in the council-chamber, and no less great in the last pathetic scenes of his life.

To return, however, to the capricious boy, upon whose arbitrary will the fate of the great statesman depended. The young tsar continued to show no desire to go back to St. Petersburg, and all the work of Peter was in abeyance. His fondness for sport was boundless, and he abandoned his studies with alacrity. His tutors lost all control over him, and all the wisest courtiers felt that the country was drifting about like a ship without a pilot. Their constant entreaties that he would allow the court to be again transferred to St. Petersburg were useless. No one saw the necessity of such a step more than Ostermann, one of the few honest foreigners who have served Russia. He succeeded in impressing his views upon the Princess Natalia, whose abilities were so much in advance of her years. Rondeau, the English minister, thus writes to his government: "The Count Luthol, who is a very handsome young fellow, was a great favorite of the late tsaritsa [Catherine]. Anna Cramer had also much credit with her, and was to be seen at all the entertainments given by the empress in which Count Luthol was one of the principal actors. Menshikov placed both of them near the Princess Natalia. Soon afterward, however, they quarreled with him, and, having gained the affections of their mistress, they united with her, the Princess Elizabeth, Apraxin, Golovkin, Ostermann, and others to overthrow him. At present Luthol and Cramer are the only favorites of the Princess Natalia, and they rule her just as they feel disposed. This princess,

1730

at the beginning of her mother's reign, had great authority at court, for the tsar loved her more than anybody in the world. But she has presumed a little too much upon her credit, and, having tried to persuade her brother to abandon the disorderly life he was leading, her remonstrances have made her disagreeable to him, and she has lost a great deal of the influence which she had over him." Unfortunately, this clever woman was soon to be taken away from the brother upon whom she might have exercised such a salutary influence. She suffered a great deal throughout the year 1728, and died in December.

The next event in the reign was the betrothal of the young tsar to Catherine Dolgoruki, and then this powerful family rose to the height of its power. Peter seems to have regarded his future bride with singular apathy. Rondeau in his report describes her as about eighteen years of age, handsome, and endowed with many good qualities. The Saxon envoy, however, has chronicled some very malicious gossip about her, for the atmosphere of the court seems to have been eminently vitiated.

But fate had ordered things otherwise. In the beginning of the year 1730 the young tsar caught the smallpox, and, when on the point of convalescence, got a chill through carelessness and died January 20.

The external affairs of the country during this reign were of little political import, with the exception, perhaps, of the expulsion of Maurice of Saxony, afterward the hero of Fontenoy, from Mittau, the capital of Courland, which province he had hoped to gain by making love to the widowed duchess, the daughter of the tsar's brother, Ivan. Ever since the time of that marriage, however, Russia had kept her eye steadily fixed upon Courland, and its annexation had been planned by Peter soon after his interview at Marienwerder with Frederick of Prussia. Event after event continued to point to the annexation of Baltic provinces at the expense of Sweden and Poland, to which latter kingdom Courland was but a loose appendage, drifting year by year farther apart, until at length the hereditary grand dukes, the race of the Kettlers, having died out, we find the throne filled by Russian nominees, and in the time of the Empress Catherine it was voluntarily ceded to Russia.

During the five years covered by the reigns of Catherine and Peter the nation had enjoyed peace and tranquillity in its internal

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affairs as well as in its foreign relations. The people looked forward to a continuance of these conditions. But even had Peter lived it is difficult to say just what direction affairs might have taken. Peter's conduct in removing his residence to Moscow, and in other instances, had shown a leaning toward the reactionary party in the empire, but in other hands he might have developed along the lines of his grandfather. It was characteristic of him to be easily led and much would have depended on his advisers.

PART II

RISE OF RUSSIA AS A WORLD POWER
1730-1801

Chapter VI

ASCENDENCY OF GERMAN INFLUENCE UNDER QUEEN ANNE. 1730-1740

ON the death of the young tsar the council took in hand the question of the succession. According to the will of Catherine the heirs of her daughter Anne were the next in succession; but the Duke of Holstein had made no friends in Russia, and his son, afterward destined to reign as Peter III., was then only three years of age. Elizabeth, the other daughter of Catherine, certainly had a right which it would have been difficult to defeat, but she seems to have made no effort to put forward any claim, and spent her time in frivolity and idleness. The French envoy Magnan writes as follows to his government: "The Princess Elizabeth has made no appearance at all on this occasion. She had gone to amuse herself in the country, and even those who exerted themselves in her favor were not able to get her to consent to be present in Moscow at the crisis; many express messages which were sent to her to this effect were not able to reach her in time, so that she arrived in this city only after the Duchess of Courland had been elected." He goes on to say that she would not have had many supporters on account of the irregularity of her conduct, and she was hardly considered "legitimate" by the strict adherents of the Greek Church, because she had been born before the marriage of her parents. The Dolgorukis put forward an extraordinary claim on behalf of their relative Catherine, who had been betrothed to the young tsar. This candidature, however, was not treated seriously. According to Manstein, scarcely had Peter II. died, when Prince Ivan Dolgoruki came out of the bedchamber with a drawn sword. This he flourished and cried out, "Long live the Empress Catherine." But no one joined in the cry. Seeing therefore that there was no chance of his succeeding, he went home and burned the will. At the instance of Prince Dmitri Galitzin, who had been one of Peter's leading men, the crown was now offered to Anne, the Duchess of Courland. The old nobility of Russia had looked with a certain amount of contempt upon

the great multitude of parvenus with which the country swarmed, since Peter had proclaimed the maxim, *la carrière ouverte au talent.* In the adjacent kingdom of Poland the aristocracy had made themselves the sole rulers; had reduced the sovereign to a mere figurehead, and gradually deprived the peasants of the small amount of liberty which remained to them. Galitzin and his brother-nobles took as their model the *pacta conventa,* on which the kingdom of Poland had been framed. It was conceived that Anne might be induced to sign something similar more readily than her elder sister Catherine, who still resided in Russia and was married to the Duke of Mecklenburg. The latter would probably be more exacting in her demands, as she had a husband to support her; moreover, the duke had made himself cordially detested in his adopted country.

Since the death of her husband, which happened so soon after her marriage, Anne had resided at Mittau, the capital of Courland. She had, however, paid frequent visits to St. Petersburg, and had been to stay at her mother's residence at Izmaelovo, but had always been obliged to return to Mittau, a place for which she had but little affection. We often find her writing to the tsar about the scanty sum which was allowed for her maintenance. Bestuzhev had been Peter's resident at her court and satisfied Anne, but her uncle Basil was ultimately sent to be a spy upon her. In fact Anne was the ruler of Courland only in name; from this time it was practically a Russian dependency. Bestuzhev happened to be obliged to go to St. Petersburg for business, and presented to Anne a certain Biron as a person capable of managing her business in his absence; but when he returned he found that his nominee had completely supplanted him.

Terms were drawn up by the council for Anne to sign. The original document, as we shall see afterward, was destroyed, but the French resident, Magnan, sent a copy to his government, which probably represents the original. The following extracts will give an idea of these important changes:

"The empress must consult the high council on all government affairs.

"She must not declare peace or war without the consent of the council.

"She was to procure the consent of the council to the imposition of any new taxes.

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"No important office was to be conferred without the consent of the council.

"The empress must not condemn nor order to be executed any of the nobility unless the person implicated has been proved to deserve death.

"The property of no nobleman shall be confiscated unless his crime has been proved.

"No property belonging to the crown domains could be alienated without the consent of the council.

"The empress was neither to marry nor choose a successor without the consent of the council."

There was also the basis of a thorough constitutional government in the following proposals:

"The empress must have a fixed sum for the expenses of her household; and shall have under her control only the body of troops forming the guard which is on duty at the palace.

"There must be a supreme council composed of twelve members from among the most considerable of the nobility, who shall direct all affairs of great importance, such as peace, war, and foreign alliances. A treasurer must be appointed who shall give an account to the supreme council of the use he has made of the state funds.

"There must be a senate, consisting of thirty-six members, who shall examine all business, before it is brought to the supreme council.

"There must be a house of two hundred persons of the lesser nobility to maintain the rights of that class, in case the supreme council attempts to invade them.

"There must be an assembly of gentlemen and merchants whose business it shall be to see that the people are not oppressed."

But the carrying out of these important measures was hampered by the quarrels among the nobility themselves. Many of the new men felt that the creation of an oligarchy of this sort meant ruin for themselves. This was especially the case with Golovkin and Ostermann. How far the latter really signed the conditions at all seems doubtful; it was certain that under such a government the son of the poor Lutheran pastor would be reduced to insignificance. Yagushinski, who had been actively employed by Peter, wrote secretly to Anne urging her not to subscribe to the conditions proposed, and telling her that there was a party that would

support her. The agent, however, of Yagushinski, one Sumarokov, was arrested on his way back from Mittau, where the widowed duchess was residing. Yagushinski was at once thrown into prison. Meanwhile the members of the council continued their quarrels, and the future empress resolved to put the matter to the test. She was without doubt well informed as to the position of affairs. She received at Mittau Prince Basil Dolgoruki, Galitzin, and Leontiev, who affected to come as deputies from the senate and nobility. Anne resolved to temporize. She subscribed to the conditions which the emissaries proposed to her, and issued a manifesto declaring her readiness to accept the crown upon such terms. She then set out for Moscow, stopping *en route* at the village of Vsevsvatskoe (All-Saints), about eight versts from that city. When the nobles begged her to accept the Cross of St. Andrew she refused to take it from their hands, and directed one of her ladies-in-waiting to put it on her own neck. The following morning a battalion of the regiment of Preobrazhenski guards and a detachment of horse guards were sent to her. Anne, as was the custom of the Russian sovereigns, gave to each of the officers a glass of brandy with her own hand. So Sophia, whom she much resembled in her masculine and commanding presence, had done to the strelitz. All this time Ostermann had been secretly working for Anne. At length everything was ready for the counter-blow, and when at Moscow the document was presented to the empress for final ratification, she seized it from the Chancellor Golovkin and tore it to pieces. She declared that she would never wear a crown conferred upon her by eight people only. This scene occurred on the tenth day after the empress had ascended the throne. She had become aware of the large party in her favor; although we are told that the Dolgorukis did what they could to prevent anyone from obtaining access to her. She had on her side Trubetski, Cherkaski, Bariatinski, and Apraxin. The nobles had gone in a body to the palace, and, resisting the attempts of the Dolgorukis to bar their entrance, had presented to the empress the petition accompanying the document torn up by her, as previously mentioned. Thus ended the second attempt to procure a semblance of constitutional government for Russia if we are to accept the view that Michael Romanov was only allowed to ascend the throne on signing a charter.

According to Manstein, on the evening of the same day Prince

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Dmitri Galitzin uttered in the private circle of his friends the following remarkable and prophetic words: "The feast was ready, but the guests were unworthy of the feast. I know that I shall be the victim of the failure of this plan. So be it. I shall suffer for my country. I am already in point of years near to the close of my life. But those who make me weep will shed tears longer than I shall."

Anne was in her thirty-seventh year when she was chosen tsaritsa. According to all accounts she was a woman of forbidding aspect and somewhat staring eyes, and her portraits bear out the description. The new empress did not forget Yagushinski, who had suffered so much for her sake. He was appointed procuror general of the senate. The Dolgorukis were banished to Siberia. The wrath of the empress against this family had been repressed till a favorable time for reprisals should occur. Magnan, the French envoy, reported to his government that the new tsaritsa had been several times closeted with Ostermann in her cabinet and had issued orders for the arrest of six members of the Dolgoruki family and some foreigners of distinction. Anne at first allowed herself to be influenced by wise counselors, such as Ostermann and Münnich, but in the latter part of her reign she was a slave to the caprices of her favorite Biron. Hence Russian historians, with a considerable amount of reason, divide her reign of ten years into four under the counsels of Peter's surviving coadjutors, and six under the hateful Bironstchina, as it has been happily termed. During the latter stormy period the empress threw herself entirely into the hands of German favorites, especially the Courlander Biron.

According to some recent articles in the *Istoricheski Viestnik,* Biron was not the son of a groom, as has been commonly assumed, but a man belonging to the smaller gentry, and perhaps the sinister report would not have arisen had he not foolishly tried to connect himself with the old Norman family Biron with which in reality he had nothing whatsoever to do. Biron was born in 1690 and in 1714 had come to Russia to seek a place in the entourage of the wife of the Tsarevitch Alexis. Here, however, he met with a repulse and was compelled to return to Courland. At this time Anne, then the widow of the duke, was living at Mittau. The chief person at her court was Bestuzhev. Biron succeeded in getting into the favor of the latter and thus obtained access to the duchess. Anne appointed him her chamberlain. This elevation

of the parvenu irritated the proud Courland aristocrats, and two of them, Vietinghof and Kaiserling, at once vacated similar posts. Biron had a vigorous and fertile mind, coupled with the gift of eloquence, and unbounded ambition. He soon acquired great influence over the duchess. He succeeded in forcing Bestuzhev to leave Courland in 1728 and so became all-powerful. In order to establish himself permanently Biron now determined to seek a matrimonial alliance among the Courland nobility. After having endured many rebuffs he married in 1723 Fräulein Benigna Trotta von Treiden, an old maid, very ugly and afflicted with chronic illness, which did not, however, prevent her from living to an extreme old age. By her Biron had three children, a daughter and two sons; of one of the latter we shall hear more in the course of the narrative. During the reign of Anne they simply played the part of *enfants terribles,* being fond of throwing ink and wine over the court dresses of the nobles and tearing off their wigs.

One of the chief causes of the resentment felt by Anne toward the Dolgorukis and the Galitzins is supposed to have been their insertion of a clause in the terms they strove to make with her, that Biron should not be allowed to return to Russia. As soon, however, as she had really become mistress of the country she at once summoned him and honors were heaped upon him in rapid succession. Rondeau wrote to his government on June 22, 1733, "The [German] emperor has sent to Biron, the grand chamberlain and favorite of the empress, his portrait encircled with diamonds worth at least 5000*l.*, and has at the same time made him count of the empire." In another dispatch of April 20, he also speaks of the great anger which this fondness for foreigners generated among the old Russian party. Anne herself during her stay of eighteen years in Courland had become very German in thought and feeling. Biron was at the head of the court; Ostermann directed home affairs; and Münnich was at the head of the war department; so that Russia was now practically governed by foreigners.

Münnich, who came from Holstein, was an excellent example of the soldier of fortune of the period. He was born in 1683, and first served in the French army, then entered the service of Austria and Poland, and finally that of Russia. Peter the Great had a high opinion of him, and intrusted him with the construction of the Ladoga canal.

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The opposing faction hardly dared to make any complaint. Yagushinski was the only one who showed any sign of discontent; he might perhaps have expiated his rashness by a journey to Siberia, as the Dolgorukis had done, but Ostermann sent him to Berlin as ambassador.

The Russians of the old or national party now looked more than ever to Elizabeth and hoped to be able to compel the tsaritsa to appoint the latter heiress to the throne even during her lifetime. Anne had, however, other views, and inclined to her niece, the daughter of the Duchess of Mecklenburg. Rondeau, in a dispatch of May 28, 1730, speaks of the irregular and completely idle life Elizabeth led. He adds that he had heard some very compromising details from Lestocq, her surgeon, and that the empress seemed pleased with these irregularities rather than otherwise because they made Elizabeth's accession to the throne less probable. Rondeau is continually writing to his government about the great extravagance which prevailed at the court. Although the exchequer was almost empty the empress gave a series of court balls. Biron and his brother were continually receiving presents. But the great favorite had other objects of ambition; he was anxious to be the ruler of that very duchy which had previously refused to receive him into the ranks of its gentry. At his instigation Russia sent an army of sixty thousand men to support the claims of the Elector of Saxony, Augustus III., to the throne of Poland. In return for this material aid the election of Biron to the duchy was ratified by the republic of Poland, of which Courland was a dependency. Rondeau tells us that Biron was very eager to receive the investiture of the duchy, but the empress could not bear parting with him, so he was admitted to his new honors by proxy. But even with this position he had not satisfied his ambition. He wished that his son should marry the young Duchess of Mecklenburg, whose mother had died in 1733. The tsaritsa, however, wished to marry her niece to Prince Anthony Ulrich of Brunswick-Beveren. But Anna, the young duchess, seems to have regarded her future husband with dislike. In consequence of this the hopes of Biron were not altogether crushed, and he did his utmost to ingratiate himself with the young lady. According to Rondeau, Biron asked her what her opinions were of the Brunswick prince, to which she replied that she was entirely at her majesty's disposal, that if her own taste was consulted she did not care for the prince. It appears,

however, that if she did not like Anthony of Brunswick very well, she liked the younger Biron even less. Finally she was married to the former in July, 1739.

In the midst of the preparations for this marriage, the tsaritsa was troubled by conspiracies. A few years before (1733) Prince Cherkaski, who was governor of Smolensk, had been convicted of conspiring in favor of the Duke of Holstein and was sent to perpetual imprisonment in Kamchatka. Three years afterward the aged prince Dmitri Dolgoruki had his property confiscated and was imprisoned in the fortress of Schlüsselburg. Volinski, the Russian statesman, who had been employed by Peter in very important state affairs, having incurred the enmity of Biron, was executed with two companions, Yeropkin and Khrustchov, under circumstances of great cruelty. His tongue was cut out, and he was to have been broken upon the wheel, but at the last moment the empress commuted the latter part of the punishment to decapitation. Volinski was a man of considerable merit, and in our own time a monument has been erected to his memory. He was, however, haughty and domineering, as was shown in his treatment of Trediakovski, the poet. He possessed a large library for a Russian of that day, and some of the notes which he occasionally made in the volumes where he thought he found a parallel to the character and caprices of the empress—especially in the writings of Justus Lepsius, an author who was then very much read—were found and quoted against him. There could be no possibility of mistaking such a note as *eto ona* (that's she), apropos of some disagreeable characteristic in one of the persons introduced by Lepsius.

It is a pity that Volinski should have displayed so much weakness while under examination, but his spirit was broken by the tortures inflicted upon him. Three days after his execution his son and two daughters were sent to Siberia, where the daughters were forced to become nuns. The brother of Volinski, without being found guilty of any crime, was put into a fortress. When Anne died Anna Leopoldovna set them all free, and the compelling of the daughters to become nuns was declared to have been unlawful. In the time of Elizabeth they married noble husbands.

Another victim of the secret chancery was Makarov, who in the time of Peter the Great had been chief of the cabinet. At one period this man was in close attendance upon the tsar and all powerful. Many then had sought his favor, and among them

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Anne, into whose head it never entered that she would one day be empress. She and her sister had been familarly called the Ivanovnas at Moscow in former days; and she had at that time been glad of the countenance of the all-powerful Makarov. But times had changed. She now demanded her letters back from him, and naturally disliked the man whose presence continually reminded her of her former humble position. He was accused of corrupt practices, and kept at Moscow under arrest for two years and nine months, during which time his affairs went to ruin. He ventured in a letter to entreat the empress to set him free, but this only resulted in a slight relaxation of his punishment.

One of the cases investigated by the secret chancery was that of an impostor who declared that he was the Tsarevitch Alexis. He was a Pole named Minicki, who had come to Russia twenty years before, and had partly lived the life of a soldier and partly in monasteries, especially in those of Little Russia. While he was in the district of Kiev he gave himself out to be Alexis, but only succeeded in gaining as adherents a priest and some soldiers. The priest admitted him to the church and ordered lights to be burned and the bells to be rung; the people came into the church and the false tsar held up the cross for them to take the oath. But suddenly a captain with some Cossacks ran into the church and ordered them to drag out the pretender and send him in chains to the military chancery at Pereslavl. The colonel at Pereslavl sent him, still in chains, off to Moscow to the secret chancery. The impostor himself and the priest who had supported him were impaled, and others of his followers were decapitated.

Not only political matters, however, but those of the most trivial, social kind were investigated in the chancery. If any old women came together and in their chattering introduced the name of the empress or Biron, a bystander had only to cry, "*Stovo i dielo,*" "The word and the deed," and the old women were at once transported to the secret chancery. All Russia was in terror of the delatores, who invaded every circle of private life and broke the sanctity of the closest ties.

Through the machinations of Biron many other members of noble families were sent to Siberia. He is generally supposed to have planned the cowardly murder of Major Malcolm Sinclair, an officer of Scottish extraction, who had entered the Swedish service and was sent in the year 1739 to Turkey with the view of

bringing about a treaty between that country and Sweden in view of Russian encroachments. On his way back from Constantinople he was waylaid near Altschau, in Silesia, by two emissaries of Biron and murdered. It does not appear that the empress was cognizant of the matter. Just at this time the agitation which existed in Sweden for the recovery of the Baltic provinces was coming to a head, and war was on the point of breaking out, when, in 1740, the empress died.

The principal event of her reign had been the four years' war with Turkey, although in reality it had led to no decisive result. The two chief Russian commanders in this war were Münnich, a German, and Lacy, an Irishman.

The reign of Anne was not without many changes in internal affairs. It was she who put an end to the supreme council and restored the senate, which had lost its power in the time of Catherine I. and Peter II., giving to it a more regular constitution. According to the scheme of Münnich it was divided into five departments. One of them had the superintendence of spiritual affairs, when they were such matters as could properly be discussed by the senate; another had cognizance of military matters, and the third of finance; the fourth dealt with the administration of justice, and the fifth with manufactures. Each department consisted of four or five senators, who made a previous examination of all questions connected with their department and reported on them at the general meeting, where they were decided by the majority. The senate also received again the power which it had enjoyed in the time of Peter the Great, but which it lost ultimately by the foundation of the cabinet of ministers in the second year of the reign of Anne.

The cabinet had the same significance that had been given by Catherine I. to the privy council, that is to say, the empress consulted her advisers, and with this object formed a council of four members (over which she herself presided), consisting of the Chancellor Golovkin, the Vice-chancellor Ostermann, Prince Cherkaski, and Count Münnich. Into the cabinet were brought the papers which were laid before the empress herself for ratification. Besides these, all political questions were there discussed. The general management of affairs, which did not demand the ukase of the sovereign, was centered in the senate, as had been done in the time of Peter the Great. Two other departments also received new and definite

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settlement, with a considerable increase of their functions. Measures were taken for a speedy codification of the laws, and rules were laid down to guarantee the purity of the courts. A great deal also was done in military matters, and the Russian army came to assume a more splendid appearance. All this was brought about by Münnich. He formed a body of heavy cavalry out of some regiments of cuirassiers, such as previously did not exist; he raised two new regiments of guards, the Ismaelov and the horse guards. He improved the artillery, laid a solid foundation to the work of the engineers, strengthened the fortresses, and formed a corps of cadets for the training of young noblemen who meditated entering military service. Moreover, he improved the discipline of the army to such an extent that from this time the Russian infantry became known as a model throughout Europe. As one result of these measures the empress raised the pay of the officers. The service of the nobles was also rendered lighter. In the time of Peter each nobleman was bound to serve the country from youth to old age; in fact, as long as his strength lasted. In the case of a family where there were three or four sons, Anne allowed one to remain at home to manage the estate. The others went into the service at twenty years of age, and when they had reached the age of twenty-five might retire with a higher rank.

Another privilege conferred upon the nobility was the power to alienate their property. According to the law of Peter the Great (1714) the owner of an estate could neither mortgage nor sell his immovable property, and could bequeath it to one son only, to the prejudice of the rest of his children. The senate represented to the empress that this law did more harm than good. Anne ordered it to be changed, and the devolution of estates was settled according to the ordinance of the Emperor Alexis in 1649. Other ranks of society too received exemptions no less important. The merchants were forgiven their arrears due to the customs, and the capitation tax paid by the peasant was considerably diminished. Many steps were taken to improve the manufactures carried on in the country, and mining establishments were founded in Siberia according to the plans of Peter the Great.

The principal educational establishment was the Academy of Sciences, in conjunction with which a school for thirty-five youths of the class of nobles was founded in the year 1735. This Academy of Sciences also had the control of scientific expeditions. There

had been appointed in the year 1732 a second expedition to the coast of Kamchatka which had also an administrative object. Okhotsk and the eastern coast generally was to be settled with colonists. Bering was to send men both on land and by water to ascertain the limits of the northern sea, and he himself was to ascertain what was between Kamchatka and America, and to claim whatever he found as belonging to Russia, provided that he did not interfere with the rights of foreign nations, including those of China and Japan. With these two last-named countries he was to open up commercial relations. In 1736 another expedition was sent by the academy under the command of Muraviov and Ortsin, with the object of discovering a route by the icy ocean from Archangel to the mouth of the Ob; and in the year 1740 Professor Delisle was sent by the academy to make astronomical observations at Obdorsk.

The attention of the Academy of Sciences was also directed to the history of the country. In pursuance of the academy's resolution, in June, 1736, directions were given throughout all Russia for the collection of manuscripts and documents relating to the reigns of Ivan the Terrible, Michael, and Alexis. These were to be sent to the senate, and the senate having investigated them with a view of seeing what they contained relative to the history of the country, was to send them to the academy. Whatever was of a secret nature was to be sent to the cabinet.

It was then that were published the first works of Gottfried Müller, a foreigner who came to Russia in the year 1720, and rendered some valuable services to the country. Though imperfectly acquainted with the language, he soon set himself to collect materials, and published his "*Sammlung der russischen Geschichte,*" a work which retains its importance even at the present day. In 1732 Müller received a commission from the Academy of Sciences to visit Siberia in order to study the country, and spent ten years in doing so. On his return, Müller, till the close of his life, was occupied in putting in order the materials he had collected relating to the geography, history, ethnography, and natural history of Russia. The collections he made are still preserved in the foreign archives at St. Petersburg under the title of Müller's portfolios.

Nor was Anne less interested in national education, and schools were established for the children of the clergy. These may be said to have existed even as early as the reign of Ivan the Terrible, and

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as a result of the council of 1551, which published the Stoglav, or Book of the Hundred Chapters.

In matters of external policy Anne followed in the footsteps of her predecessors. Russia, which for more than half a century had longed for peace, was now in a position to enjoy comparative calm. Ever since 1687 the country had been engaged in warfare with its neighbors, at first with the Turks, then with the Swedes, and finally with the Persians.

The disputes with the Turks and Swedes were now matters of history; but the war with Persia had for nine years been carried on without any decisive result. Besides these, the complicated affairs of the Duke of Holstein still remained unsettled. In the time of Catherine they had almost dragged Russia into a European war. However much Peter might have been interested in these contests, his opinions were by no means shared by the majority of his subjects. By them these wars were considered a useless burden; they looked upon the Persian territories which had been subjugated by the Russian arms as a gulf which had swallowed up both men and money. In the quarrel with Denmark about the rights of the Duke of Holstein, they saw a matter which was of indifference to Russia; and from this point of view Anne regarded both questions. Her resolve to put an end to the quarrel with Persia and Denmark met with the general approval of her subjects.

To really strengthen the Russian authority on the western and southern banks of the Caspian Sea a large additional force was required. Russia had to deal with a fierce soldier, who had filled the east with the story of his battles. This hero was the daring Nadir Shah. He was for a long time the captain of a band of robbers, and as such had gained for himself a great reputation. He was now inflamed by a spirit of ambition, and aimed at restoring the ancient power of Persia. He quitted his former trade of brigand and offered to enter the service of the son of Hussein with a large body of adherents.

The Shah Tahmasp had been reduced to extremities by the victories of the Turks, and the rebels had got possession of almost all Persia, including Ispahan. He hid himself in Mazanderan, without soldiers and without hope of getting back his throne. He was therefore the more ready to listen to Nadir's offer, because in him he saw his one hope of assistance. And now events were not long in taking a turn. Victory followed upon victory, and

at length the rebels showed themselves cowed. Nadir quickly drove them out of the chief cities, got possession of Ispahan, gave the shah back his throne, and having rendered Persia tranquil once more, directed his victorious arms against the foreign enemies of his country, especially the Turks.

A crushing defeat, which he inflicted on the Turkish army under the walls of Tabriz, had the effect of throwing the Porte

into consternation. An insurrection broke out in Constantinople. The Sultan Ahmed III., was driven from the throne, and Mahmud I. took his place. Meanwhile an agitation in favor of Tahmasp was discovered in those districts of the Caspian which had been occupied by the Russian forces. The people rose *en masse,* and the Russian regiments were barely saved from destruction. Levashev implored the empress to send large reinforcements. Anne, instead of doing so, dispatched Shavirov with terms of peace, and, at the

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same time, offered to restore all Peter's conquests. Shavirov met the ambassadors of the shah in conference at Resht, and the principal terms of peace were agreed upon. It was arranged that the Russian forces should immediately evacuate all the Persian territories on the southern shores of the Caspian, and the western shore between the old Russian frontier and the River Kura was to be handed over as soon as peace should be concluded with Turkey. The main object of the Russian Government was the reëstablishment of the old friendship with Persia and the expulsion of the Turks from the Caucasus. The shah confirmed the treaty which had been concluded at Resht, and Levashev brought his regiment to the left bank of the Kura. Here he awaited the conclusion of the war between Turkey and Persia, which had broken out once more with renewed vigor.

Soon after this the disagreement with Denmark about Schleswig was settled. The interference of Russia in the quarrels between the Duke of Holstein and the King of Denmark had been brought to an end by the mediation of the German emperor. Offers were made to the duke to give up the disputed portion of Schleswig for one million reichsthalers.[1] If he did not receive this sum in the course of two years he was to consider the matter settled. At the same time the two powers signed mutual treaties of defense, which guaranteed the integrity of the Danish possessions.

If Anne in some respects departed from Peter's oriental policy, she adhered to his plan of action with regard to Poland and Turkey. Augustus II. died in 1733. The election of a king in Poland had become a more turbulent matter than ever since the sovereignty was no longer continued in the line of the Jagiellos. The last Jagiello had been John Casimir, whose pathetic renunciation of the crown is familiar to all readers of history. The Polish nobles were generally divided into three prominent parties, one being inclined to Austria, one to France, and one to Russia. In spite of all her machinations, Austria never succeeded in getting a Hapsburg elected to the throne. She contrived, however, that many of the Polish sovereigns should marry Austrian archduchesses. The fatal quarrels of the nobility were again patent.

On the death of Augustus, the diet was summoned at Warsaw.

[1] A name given to large silver coins current chiefly during the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, in several European countries. The value varied between $1.15 and sixty cents, United States money, but was usually a little over $1.00.

The Archbishop of Gniezno (Gnesen), who by virtue of his office was regent of the kingdom, wanted to keep foreigners from the throne, and to have a Piast, that is, a native Pole, appointed, as had been done in the case of Michael Wisniowiecki and John Sobieski. The choice fell upon Stanislaus Leczinski. He had previously had some experience of kingship, and knew well the fickleness of his countrymen. In 1725 his daughter Maria had married Louis XV. At first Stanislaus was reluctant to accept the proffered honor. When, however, he did accept it, a great difficulty presented itself. How was he to reach Poland? Neither Austria nor Prussia would allow him to pass through their territories, and a Russian fleet barred all access to Poland by the Baltic. Accordingly, a stratagem was resorted to. A report was circulated that Stanislaus was going to Dantzic with a French fleet, which was about to sail from Brest. In August, 1733, Stanislaus publicly took leave of the French court in order to accept his new kingdom. He then went to Berry, where a certain Chevalier de Thianges, who had some likeness to him, was waiting. This man then disguised himself as the Polish sovereign, and hurried to Brest. On August 26, while the false Stanislaus embarked at Brest amid salvos of cannon, the genuine king was hurried through Germany to Poland in the company of the Chevalier d'Andelot. On September 10 he appeared at the diet, and was duly elected by a majority of sixty thousand votes.

The union of the daughter of Stanislaus with the French king was urged against him by the pro-Russian party. There were a certain number of Poles at the diet who showed the usual jealousy of their order, and attempted to upset the election of Stanislaus; their candidate was the son of Augustus, of the same name—a man of coarse habits and poor intellect, who seemed likely to keep the country at the same level of degradation as his father had left it. Austria, always planning something to the detriment of Poland, took the same side as the Russians. Augustus III., as he afterward became, promised the empress that he would support the claims of Biron to the duchy of Courland. He also promised the German emperor that he would give his consent to the Pragmatic Sanction. Augustus was supported by the Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Michael Wisniowiecki. Russian troops presently made their appearance on the scene, and the Poles were too weak to withstand them. Stanislaus could hold out no longer at

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Warsaw, and was obliged to retire to Dantzic, in expectation of some French troops which had been promised him. His rival, with his supporters, occupied the suburb of Praga. There were even fights between the opposing parties, which were only too characteristic of divided and unhappy Poland, now fast declining. Wisniowiecki then invited the Russian troops to enter upon Polish territory, and a force was sent under the command of General Lacy. A new diet now met and elected Augustus to the throne. Stanislaus was still at Dantzic, and it was not until he had been there five months that the Russians began the siege. The much expected French troops at length made their appearance; they consisted of only 1000 men under the command of Count de Plelo. Some of the Russian forces had been left behind to hold Warsaw, and the siege of Dantzic was consequently carried on in a desultory manner, with only three or four field pieces. The tsaritsa hastened to increase her forces and put them under the command of Münnich. Affairs at once took another turn; Münnich captured the French detachment which had made a sally, collected some powerful artillery, and began such a bombardment of Dantzic that Stanislaus saw the impossibility of defending the place, and contrived to escape through the Russian lines disguised as a peasant. He himself has left an interesting account of his flight and the generous refusal of a peasant to receive any money for ferrying him over the river. The good king retired to his little capital of Nancy, where he eventually died at an advanced age in 1766. The loss of such a man was a great blow to Poland.

With the fall of Dantzic Stanislaus lost all hope of retaining the Polish throne. He willingly surrendered it, preferring a quiet life and the pursuit of science to the heavy burden of governing a country distracted with feuds. The cabinet of Versailles, however, considered it discreditable to abandon the king's father-in-law, and not having succeeded in furnishing him with assistance at the time when it was wanted, now resolved to reëstablish him on the Polish throne when it was too late. Louis XV. declared war against the German emperor for his share in the election of Augustus. This war cost Austria dear; her troops were everywhere defeated by the French and their allies: on the Rhine, in Milan, in Naples, in Sicily. In vain did the veteran Prince Eugene of Savoy direct all his efforts to resist the conquerors; the other generals also failed; and Charles VI. trembled for Vienna itself. The

Russian empress sent a considerable body of men under the command of General Lacy to help him. Before, however, the Russian soldiers had reached the Rhine, the French cabinet had proposed terms of peace. Augustus was recognized as king of Poland, and a considerable portion of the territory which the French had conquered in the north of Italy was restored to the German emperor. Charles on his side surrendered Lorraine to Stanislaus for his life, and on his death it was to be united to France. Charles also renounced his rights to Naples and Sicily, and peace was finally concluded at Vienna in 1738. Augustus made Biron, the favorite of Anne, Duke of Courland when the ruling house of the Kettlers had come to an end in 1737.

As soon as Augustus III. had been securely seated on the throne of Poland, the empress moved her forces to the Black Sea. Her object was to preserve the southern portions of the Russian dominions from the continued inroads of the Crimean Tatars. From the days of the Emperor Alexis their invasions had not been so disastrous as formerly: they were kept at bay by the warlike spite of the Cossacks, who proved themselves excellent frontiersmen. When the Russians gained Azov these attacks became even rarer. This explains why Peter had been so unwilling to part with this outpost. As soon as the Russians had abandoned Azov after the Treaty of the Pruth, the Tatars appeared in the government of Voronezh. They burned many villages and carried off 15,000 men into slavery. Soon after this they plundered the neighborhood of Izum and Kharkov, and almost got possession of Astrakhan. Their insolence continuing to increase, Peter the Great had several times applied to the Porte urgently demanding that it would keep in order the Tatars of the Crimea who recognized in a way the suzerainty of the sultan. The Turkish Government, either from weakness or out of ill-will to the Russians, did not attempt to acquiesce in the wishes of the imperial court, and the tsar saw that it was necessary to employ force. At the close of his life all things had been prepared for an expedition. Troops had been collected in the Ukraine, at Briansk, and Voronezh; some thousands of flat-bottom boats had been built, by which Peter intended at the same time to sail down the Dnieper and Don to the coasts of the Black Sea to break up these nests of robbers. The death of the emperor delayed for a time the conquest of the Crimea. His plans found no seconder either in the reign of Catherine I. or

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Peter II. The Tatars accordingly took advantage of this inactivity on the part of Russia and plundered the Ukraine in the old fashion. In the beginning of the reign of the Empress Anne the government of St. Petersburg once more made an urgent demand for satisfaction to the Porte. The sultan replied that the Tatars were a free people, and that there was no means of bringing them into order. But he soon afterward showed the usual Turkish contempt for international law. He had entangled himself in a difficult quarrel with the brave Nadir Shah, and had begun to direct all the forces of the Porte against Persia. He accordingly ordered the Khan of the Crimea to invade Daghestan. In vain did the Russian resident represent to the Divan that the Tatars could not reach the Caucasus except by passing through the Russian possessions on the Kuban and Terek, and that in order to do this the permission of the Russian Government must be asked. The sultan would pay no attention. The Tatars moved in one entire horde and met the Russian forces between the Terek and the Sundja. Here they profited by the negligence of the Russian commander in chief in the Caucasus, the Prince of Hesse-Homburg, and broke through the scattered Russian regiments. They thus carried out the intention of the sultan to commit a breach of international law, and, in so doing, aroused the keenest indignation in the Russian cabinet.

The empress had only been waiting until Polish affairs had been settled to direct all her forces against the Tatars. As soon, therefore, as this was the case, Field-marshal Münnich received orders to devastate the Crimea; General Lacy was to take possession of Azov. Meanwhile Ostermann informed the vizier of the rupture and the Sublime Porte of the dissatisfaction of Russia at what had occurred. A very good time had been chosen for this expedition. Turkey was engaged in a vexatious war with Persia and had no means of giving any support to the Tatars. On the other hand, Russia could rely upon the support of Austria under the Treaty of 1726, and still more upon her own soldiery led by Münnich. The Russian forces had already surprised the Germans by their strict discipline and familiarity with war, in their descent upon the Rhine some time before. The expedition was a complete success; Lacy got possession of Azov; Münnich, who neither spared himself nor his soldiers, quickly passed the steppe which separated the Ukraine from the Crimea, and met the whole horde on the

line of Perekop, which was considered impassable. He now completely scattered the Tatar bands, took Perekop by assault, and devasted the western part of the peninsula up to the actual capital of the khan, Bakchiserai, of which we now begin to hear for the first time. He could not, however, establish himself in the Tauric peninsula owing to want of provisions. He therefore blew up the fort of Perekop and returned to the Ukraine. The khan, however, recovered from the blow inflicted upon him, and harassed the quarters of the Russian army during the entire winter. He still nourished the hope of saving himself by the assistance of Turkey.

In the meantime the sultan had succeeded in concluding a treaty with Persia, and being in no further fear of the terrible Nadir Shah, who had turned his victorious forces against eastern India, he hoped to preserve some portion of the Caucasus. But, in truth, this was no easy task; he had more foes than one to contend against. The German emperor, Charles VI., showed an inclination to take up arms gainst Turkey. By the Treaty of 1726 he was bound to assist the Russians with an auxiliary force of 30,000 men. On the present occasion he resolved to direct all his efforts against Turkey, no doubt in hopes of making up, at the expense of the sultan, for the loss of his Italian possessions. The allies resolved to attack simultaneously all the European territories of the Porte, from the Sea of Azov to the Adriatic. Lacy was to invade the Crimea, and Münnich to get possession of Ochakov, afterward to be so celebrated in Potemkin's wars, and Bender. The Austrian generals were to drive the Turks out of Servia, Bosnia, the parts of Croatia belonging to the Porte, and Wallachia, so as to carry their arms across the Danube, and to decide the war with united forces in Bulgaria. The Russian generals fought well. Lacy devastated the Crimea. The khan waited for him on the line of Perekop with the whole horde and some thousands of janissaries, in the firm resolve not to allow him to enter the peninsula. Lacy, however, chose another route by which he was not expected. He crossed Sivash, or the Putrid Sea, by a ford, made a forced march into the Crimea, and showed himself on the rear of the khan. The enemy fled into the mountains. The Russians made the inhabitants of the Crimea remember the expedition of Münnich. The whole region was devastated, the villages in the eastern part being reduced to ashes.

Münnich, who was already known among the Russians by

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the name of "The Falcon," appeared on July 10, 1737, under the walls of Ochakov, which was strongly fortified and defended by a numerous garrison. He immediately ordered the place to be stormed. The Turks, however, were animated with the courage of despair, and though the Russians attacked vigorously, their position became dangerous. An uninterrupted battle of two days showed the impossibility of taking Ochakov by storm, and that it would be necessary to lay regular siege to the city. The troops were suffering from want of provisions, and saw around them a limitless barren steppe, which could neither furnish food nor fodder. Münnich made up his mind to take the fortress. He himself led the Izmail regiment to the attack, and amid a conflagration which lit up the whole city, planted the imperial standard on its walls with his own hands.

The Austrian generals did not experience the same good fortune. One marched into Servia, and was driven thence by the Turks; another appeared in Bosnia, and was defeated; the third suffered a complete disaster in Wallachia. All the three were superseded by the German emperor in his displeasure; but matters showed no signs of improving, and he was compelled to enter into negotiations for peace. But it did not escape the notice of the Turks that there was no longer a Prince Eugene in command of the Austrian forces. They, therefore, resolved to dictate the terms of peace, and laid siege to Belgrade, which was the key to the Austrian territories. The emperor now saw himself driven to make peace. He was in need of money, and his army was disorganized. He saw too that there was no real coöperation between the allies. He, therefore, turned to Louis XV., asking him to mediate. This task the cabinet of Versailles gladly undertook, but really with the object of hampering the German empire in accordance with the principles of hereditary antagonism. It was doubtless owing to French intrigue that the Turks were able to get terms so much more favorable than they might have expected. In accordance with the request of Austria, Villeneuve, the French ambassador at the Porte, took a part in the negotiations, and also offered his services to the Russian court. Ostermann thoroughly understood that the object of this so-called mediation was to destroy the Russian influence in the Black Sea, and refused the French offer accordingly. Here, however, Biron stepped in, the very evil genius of Russia, and persuaded the empress to send to

Villeneuve full powers for the conclusion of peace. The negotiations were opened under the walls of Belgrade, in the camp of the vizier, who was secretly supported by France. Count Neipperg, the imperial ambassador, sustained a complete diplomatic defeat, and yielded all that the Turks wanted, and Villeneuve was just as compliant at the expense of Russia.

Only a short time before the signing of the treaty Russia had gained another victory, another evidence of the advantageous position of which she was robbed by the mischievous interference of Biron, a wholly incapable man. At the time when the vizier was besieging Belgrade, the Seraskier Veli Pasha with a large army entered Bessarabia with the view of invading Russia. Münnich had been waiting for a chance to encounter the main army of the Turks, and at once led his troops against them, although far inferior in numbers. The two forces met at the village of Stavuchani, near Chotin. Veli Pasha had fortified his camp, and, having surrounded Münnich on all sides, hoped to starve him into surrender. Münnich, however, according to his custom, led his columns in person, attacked the fortified camp of the seraskier, got possession of the artillery and baggage, and drove the Turks in confusion to the Danube. A result of this victory was the fall of Chotin, which surrendered without firing a shot in August, 1739.

A treaty was signed within three days after the battle of Stavuchani. Austria restored to Turkey all that she had gained twenty years before by the victories of Prince Eugene, and gave up all her rights to Wallachia and the part of Servia ceded to her by the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718. Moreover, she gave up Belgrade and Orshova, and bound herself to demolish the fortifications of the former place. Thus were the unhappy Servians, after a brief taste of civilization, sent back to the yoke of their ignorant and unsympathetic Ottoman masters. In 1740, 150,000 Servians emigrated to Russia and were established in the southern governments.

Russia lost nothing, but also gained nothing, in spite of all her victories and sacrifices. Each expedition had cost her large sums and many thousands of men. The soldiers perished not so much by the sword of the enemy as by want of provisions and the laborious marches over the steppes of the Ukraine and Bessarabia. To compensate the Russians for this lavish expenditure of money and men, the sultan agreed to raze Azov to its founda-

1739-1740

tions, so that neither Russia nor Turkey could find it of any service. Moreover, he was to cede to Russia the steppe between the Boug and the Donetz. He was to have no further dealings with the Zaporogian Cossacks; Russian merchants were allowed to send their goods across the Black Sea, but only on Turkish ships. Russia gave back Ochakov and Chotin to the Porte, and bound herself not to molest the Khan of the Crimea.

The empress died in 1740. Her reign had been on the whole unpopular. No doubt Biron contributed much to make it so, for the Germans were thoroughly detested. Even before the death of the empress a conspiracy was detected, the main object of which was to get rid of the Germans, and proclaim as empress, Elizabeth, the surviving daughter of Peter the Great. Finch, the English resident, wrote that if the wishes of the nation were consulted, Elizabeth would certainly be elected her successor; she was popular on her own account, and more so because she was the daughter of the great tsar whose memory was so cherished by his subjects. The Dolgorukis were at the head of the conspiracy and were even able to direct it from Siberia, but they paid dearly for their audacity. They were brought to Novgorod and executed.

Chapter VII

RUSSIA AS A FACTOR IN THE POLITICS OF EUROPE. 1740-1762

THE Empress Anne being dead, Biron succeeded to the regency. But he was soon to be driven from power. In the last years of Anne he had shown himself an intolerable tyrant. The nobility could not hide their discontent, and some of the leading men resolved to ask the mother of the infant emperor to take the helm of the state. They wished her to act in some such decisive manner as Anne Ivanovna had done when she put an end to the tyranny of the supreme council. They elected as their leader Prince Cherkaski, a man of weak character. He informed the regent of the danger which threatened him. Biron at once took his measures; the participators in the conspiracy were seized and put to the torture. The capital was in a state of panic; even the father of the baby emperor, Prince Anthony Ulrich, on account of the part which his adjutant had taken in the conspiracy, was obliged to listen to the most insulting rebukes in the presence of the whole court, and received an order to resign the rank of general, which had been given him by the late empress; and at length he was even arrested. The mother of the young emperor trembled when Biron came to see her. A ukase seemed on the point of being issued, by which she and her family would be sent from Russia. Biron had already threatened it during his sharp disputes with her husband. In the midst of the general stupefaction only the hero of Ochakov, Münnich, dared to withstand Biron. Influenced partly by pity for the imperial family and partly by disgust at the conduct of the regent, who would share his authority with nobody, and perhaps even more allured by the hope of holding the helm of state himself, Münnich opened his mind to the princess with a view of ridding both her and Russia of their tormentor. He only asked permission to use her name, and then took his measures. She gladly consented. As all classes of society were embittered against Biron, the field-marshal might safely have

arrested him in broad daylight when visiting the princess. He could have shut him up in a fortress with the sure conviction that no one would endeavor to release him. Münnich, however, effected the arrest at night, and laid hands on Biron in the latter's own palace, where he was surrounded with three hundred soldiers. Owing to the promptness of his adjutant, Manstein, he accomplished this without shedding a drop of blood. The capital heard of the fall of Biron with the greatest joy, which found an echo throughout Russia. Finch reported to his government that Field-marshal Münnich, at the head of a detachment of forty grenadiers, had gone to the summer palace and, in virtue of a verbal order of the Princess Anna, had seized the regent in bed and caused him to be taken away prisoner. He adds significantly: "The Duke of Courland [Biron] has been deprived of all his money and of everything which he possessed, even of his gold watch and his clothes." Very minute details have come down of this picturesque *révolution de palais,* for such it may truly be called.

Hedwig-Elizabeth, the daughter of Biron, had been dancing that night at a ball given by the cabinet minister, Prince Cherkaski. She had come back late, and gone to bed very tired. She had hardly fallen asleep when she was suddenly aroused by terrible cries issuing from the bedroom of her parents. She leaped from her bed, wrapped a fur cloak round herself, and rushed to the scene of the noise. When she opened the doors of the duke's bedroom Hedwig was petrified with terror. She saw her father, half-dressed and bound hands and feet, in the power of some Preobrazhenski guards. The duke was shouting and making frantic efforts to escape; he was even biting those who attempted to detain him. The soldiers, however, treated him in the most unceremonious fashion and tied his mouth with a handkerchief. They then wrapped him in a cloak and dragged him into the street. The Princess Hedwig and her mother, weeping bitterly, entreated them to show pity, and begged to be allowed to accompany the duke. The officer in command, however, ordered them to be taken back to their rooms and to be kept under guard. When morning broke a court official appeared and politely requested them to give him the keys of all their boxes and drawers. He then placed the duchess and her daughter in a close carriage, on the box of which two police officers took their seat, and ordered the vehicle to be driven to the monastery of St. Alexander Nevski.

Here, in the cell of the archimandrite, Hedwig found her father and youngest brother. The elder had been left in the city on account of illness.

Anna Leopoldovna now declared herself governor, and was recognized as such without opposition. Biron was ultimately sent to the fortress of Schlüsselburg. There he fell into complete despair, and in pusillanimous terror almost lost his senses when he heard the sentence of death pronounced by the commission which had been appointed for his trial. The chief witness against him was his former friend, Bestuzhev, who hoped thereby to win the favor of Anna and Münnich. This man afterward confessed that his accusations had been groundless. Anna gave Biron his life and commuted his sentence into exile to Pelim, a little town of eastern Siberia, 600 versts beyond Tobolsk. Here a special house was built for him according to the plan of Münnich; all his family shared his fate, and his property both in Russia and Courland was confiscated.

On the fall of Biron the supreme government was centered in a cabinet of ministers, which now acquired a more regular organization. It was divided into three departments. Münnich as chief minister had the control of military matters; Ostermann, who was created an admiral, superintended diplomatic relations with foreign powers, and had the control of the fleet; the chancellor, Prince Cherkaski, and the vice-chancellor, Count Golovkin, had the management of home affairs. The command of the troops was intrusted to the father of the emperor, Prince Anthony Ulrich, who was made general-in-chief. He was a dull, heavy man—a kind of Prince George of Denmark—we can see this plainly from his portraits.

Having as her advisers Ostermann and Münnich, who both knew Russia so well, and so clearly understood her wishes and hopes, the princess endeavored to keep the people well affected by deeds of gentleness and mercy. She began by releasing from imprisonment some thousands of innocent persons whom Biron had shut up in dungeons or sent to Siberia. She was gracious to all classes, and loaded the nobility and soldiers with presents. She restored any church lands which had been confiscated; she encouraged trade and native industry; she remitted taxes and caused a number of schools to be built. Considering what efforts Anna made to benefit the country, the ingratitude with which she met

seems inexplicable. There was, however, always the party of Elizabeth to be feared. Although that princess herself was idle and self-indulgent, her name could be used as a watchword for those who wished to disturb the order of affairs. Anna, moreover, was occasionally capricious and apt to forget that she was surrounded by enemies. At the beginning of her short regency she was active, but afterward became careless and averse to showing herself in public, and heard the reports of her ministers with reluctance. Married to a stupid man, for whom she had no real affection, she threw herself into the society of a few close confidantes, the chief of whom was Julia Mengden, one of her ladies-in-waiting, the Austrian ambassador, the Marquis Botta d'Adorno, and the Saxon ambassador, Count Lynar. The network of intrigues fostered by these people set Anna at variance with her husband, prejudiced them against Münnich and Ostermann, and ended by bringing about the downfall of Anna.

In the old days the intrigues of foreigners did a great deal of mischief to Russia. Anna did not trust Ostermann nor listen to Münnich, but followed the suggestions of her flatterers. She was so unwise as to allow Russia to be implicated in foreign affairs in which the country had no real interest, as for instance in the quarrel between Austria and Prussia about Silesia. One of the consequences of this interference was the estrangement of Münnich, who was one of the bulwarks of the youthful emperor's throne. According to Finch, it was not sympathy with Anna that made him overthrow Biron. In the second place a disagreement arose with the court of Versailles. This made Sweden irritated against Russia, and was unwelcome to the Princess Elizabeth personally. She had always had leanings toward France. Frederick II. of Prussia on his coming to the throne not long before the death of the Empress Anne was desirous of wresting Silesia from Maria Theresa, the heiress of the Emperor Charles VI. The kaiser had died in 1740, whereupon Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, had put forward a claim to the hereditary possessions of Maria Theresa.

Frederick accordingly sought the friendship of the Russian court, and offered to conclude a defensive treaty with the cabinet of St. Petersburg. His overtures were welcomed the more eagerly because of his connection with Prince Anthony Ulrich, and because Münnich could not pardon the eagerness with which the court of Vienna had entered into the Treaty of Belgrade, and so forced

Russia to forego some of the most valuable conquests she had made. As we have already seen, however, the failure of Austria was due to the French Government, in its traditional hatred of that house, having encouraged the Turks to make greater demands. Accordingly a treaty was concluded between Frederick and Russia, under the terms of which each was to assist the other in every war except with Persia and Turkey. This accomplished, it was not long before Frederick invaded Silesia, and by the end of 1741 had occupied almost the whole province. Maria Theresa thereupon asked for the assistance of Russia on the basis of former treaties. Austria found a vigorous supporter in Count Lynar. His government urged him to use every effort to prevent any *rapprochement* between Russia and Prussia, and he had no difficulty in persuading Anna to ignore the treaty with Frederick. Nay, more, she was ready to form an alliance with Maria Theresa against him. Münnich, on the other hand, considering that Russia was bound to keep terms with Frederick, who had faithfully carried out his part of the treaty, espoused the cause of Frederick in the cabinet, and opposed Ostermann, who generally held with the stronger, and who was implicitly followed by Count Lynar. Anna much resented the attitude of the field-marshal, who accordingly sent in his resignation, which was accepted.

It was a comparatively easy matter to lead Sweden into war. France in reality directed her policy. Ever since the time when Ulrika Eleonora, the successor of Charles XII., had allowed the senate to limit the authority of the king, the nobility had held the supreme power. The nobles were divided into many sections, and, as a natural consequence, foreign influence made itself much felt in the affairs of the nation.

After many disorders, which much weakened Sweden, two hostile parties were formed under the leadership respectively of Count Horn and Count Gyllenborg. Horn was the head of those who adopted a dignified policy, who were equally anxious for peace at home and tranquillity abroad. Especially were they desirous of peace with Russia. Gyllenborg led the party desirous of war. These two factions had now continued their struggle for ten years. Gyllenborg could rely upon French assistance, and his supporters had for some time been threatening Russia. They were eager to recover for Sweden the territory which Peter had won from her, and thought that an opportunity had presented

itself, now that an infant was upon the throne of Russia and the regent was a woman. The French minister seconded these views, and encouraged the Swedes in the idea that Russia was in a more or less helpless condition. Accordingly war against Russia was declared, and in the manifesto issued, the Russian nation was informed, among other things, that the Swedes were resolved to free Russia from the rule of foreigners and to raise Elizabeth to the throne. But, as already said, the true object of Sweden was to get back all that had been ceded to Peter by the Treaty of Nystad in 1721. Anna was perplexed at this declaration of war; the more so because the Russian fleet, during the rule of Biron, had been very much neglected, and was now in a miserable condition. The admiralty could not send a single ship to sea. The vessels were rotting at their moorings and there were no sailors. The reign of the Empress Anne Ivanovna had indeed been a sad one for Russia. The weakness of this gloomy and repellent woman had left everything in the hands of the minion Biron. Fortunately for the Russians, the Swedes resolved to attack by land, hoping to drive them out of Finland. The comrade of Münnich, Field-marshal Lacy, hastened to anticipate their attack, and rapidly moved to Wilmanstrand, where he met and defeated Wrangel, the Swedish general, whom he took prisoner with all his army. Fearing a similar fate, the Swedish commander in chief, Löwenhaupt, hastened to quit Russian territory.

Triumph as this was for Russia, it was no less a triumph for France, in that the latter had succeeded in her design of entangling Russia in a northern war and thus preventing her from assisting Maria Theresa. The traditional policy of France had certainly been to humble the house of Hapsburg, but in return for Lorraine she had virtually guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction. Meanwhile De la Chétardie, the French minister at St. Petersburg, was maneuvering against the regent in another direction. He was in close friendship with Lestocq, the physician of Elizabeth, a great master of intrigue. He had orders from his government to entangle Russia in the disputes which were leading up to the Seven Years' War between Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa. Anna, however, had no intention of sending an army to support the pretensions of Frederick, and the Marquis de la Chétardie hoped to accomplish more if the Princess Elizabeth was made tsaritsa. His policy was seconded by the Swedish minister, but

Finch, the English resident, endeavored to persuade Anna to embrace the cause of Maria Theresa. He was bent upon defeating the plans of De la Chétardie. Finch tried to ascertain what was going on, but found Ostermann reserved. The latter pretended to be ignorant of the whole matter, but this sort of conduct, says Finch, is in keeping with his character, "just," he adds, "as he pretended on the death of Peter II. to have the gout in his right hand so that he might not be obliged to sign the document which limited the power of his successor." Finch, however, got more out of the Duke of Brunswick, who told him that he had the same suspicions about the French and Swedish ministers. De la Chétardie was continually having private interviews with Elizabeth, and was in intimate relations with Lestocq, who was a Hanoverian, notwithstanding his French name. The Duke of Brunswick added that he had long suspected Münnich of making advances to the Princess Elizabeth, and that the marshal had been for some time under his observation. Orders had been given that if he was seen to go to the house of Elizabeth at night he should be seized alive or dead. Finally, however, Finch tells us Ostermann likewise opened his mind to him upon the subject. Finch was urged by him to invite Lestocq to dinner, that under the influence of wine information as to his secret plans might be extracted from him. "To this," the Englishman adds, "I made no response, for I believe that if ambassadors are held to be spies in the interest of their master they ought not to ply this trade for the benefit of others. Besides, my health does not permit me *torquere vino*." He concludes his dispatch by regretting that Anna passed so much of her time in private in the society of her favorite Julia Mengden. On the other hand, Elizabeth was very obliging, affable, and personally very much liked. Moreover, the people could not forget that she was the daughter of the great Peter. He had now been dead fifteen years, and the country had been more or less on the verge of humiliation ever since. Manstein tells us that the ministry proposed to Anna that she should declare herself empress. This project was especially favored by Golovkin, and all preparations were made for proclaiming Anna empress on December 18, which was her birthday. But the plans were frustrated by the rapid movements of Elizabeth.

Meantime the court was full of cabals. Anna would not allow her husband to have a vestige of authority, and opposed Ostermann in every way. A Russian party was being developed in a great

1740-1741

measure owing to the machinations of the Austrian ambassador. Gradually Elizabeth allowed it to be seen that she was sensitive on the subject of her authority; thus she was offended when the Persian ambassador had not paid her a visit. She sent a message to Ostermann to the effect that she knew he was trying to humiliate her, and bade him remember that her father had raised him from a mere clerk. On November 26, 1741, Finch was able to communicate to his government this startling piece of intelligence: "Yesterday at one o'clock in the morning the Princess Elizabeth went to the barracks of the regiment of the Preobrazhenski guards, accompanied only by Vorontsov, one of her chamberlains, Lestocq, and Schwarz, who is, I believe, her secretary, and putting herself at the head of three hundred grenadiers, she went directly to the palace." On a previous occasion in one of his dispatches Finch had said that Elizabeth was too fat and comfortable to make a plot, quoting the lines of Shakespeare in "Julius Cæsar." He goes on to say that the young tsar and his little sister, who were in bed, were seized, and likewise the regent and her husband, the Duke of Brunswick. Their arrest was followed by that of Münnich and his son, Ostermann, Golovkin, and several others. Soon afterward Elizabeth was proclaimed with unanimity empress of Russia.

It remains to pass in review the political jealousies and counter struggles of the great powers of which Russia had lately been made the theater. It was the English who first thought of making use of the influence of Russia as a great factor in European politics. Instructions had been given to Finch (February 29, 1740) to bring about a close alliance between Great Britain and Russia, and to respect the treaty which had previously existed between Anne and the house of Austria. Frederick the Great had also cast his eyes upon Russia, and as soon as he ascended the throne had endeavored to establish good relations with the cabinet of St. Petersburg. His envoy, De Mardefeldt, paid assiduous court to Ostermann, who was at that time at the head of foreign affairs. The latter was very favorable to Frederick, and he would only agree to a treaty with England on condition that Prussia, Denmark, and Poland were also included in it. But this did not suit the English cabinet, as Finch tells us in his dispatch of October 1, 1740. The German emperor, Charles VI., died on the 20th of the same month. The news of his death reached St. Petersburg soon after the death of Anne Ivanovna. The intelligence was anything but agreeable

to Ostermann. Lord Harrington, who was one of the English secretaries of state, informed the English minister at Vienna that England would abide by the stipulations she had made with reference to the Pragmatic Sanction.

As for Frederick, he had made up his mind to prefer his own interests to the obligations which his late father had undertaken. He knew the Russians well, and was convinced that they would be unwilling to support the Pragmatic Sanction. Of the Russians he always spoke with a real or assumed contempt, and avowed, with his usual cynicism, that the time of Anne's death would be a favorable period for the seizure of Silesia, because the Russians would find themselves hampered by a minority.

The neutrality of Russia, however, was not acceptable to France, which was striving as much as possible to detach the country from her German connection. French influence was beginning to increase in Russia. De la Chétardie had long been intriguing to insure the succession of Elizabeth, who had been destined at one time by her father to become the wife of Louis XV. It was his object to rearouse something of the sympathy with France which had at one time existed. The Empress Catherine, the widow of Peter, had received discouraging replies when she had ventured to express similar views. French writers have not hesitated to regret this, and that at such a critical moment in her history Russia was thrown into the arms of Germany. It was then the time for the French to choose new allies. Sweden had been completely exhausted by the mad pranks of Charles XII. Poland was most unmistakably approaching the agonies of dissolution, and the same appeared to be the condition of Turkey. With Anne Ivanovna had begun the influence of the Germans upon Russia, which was to weigh her down during the greater part of the eighteenth century. This accounts for the great energy displayed by De la Chétardie in his endeavors to counteract it. Albert Vandal, the historian, in a sentence pointed with all the epigrammatic force of Tacitus, says: "The spectacle was presented of a French ambassador preparing a list of proscribed persons, and including in it all the members of the government to which he was accredited." Elizabeth has been blamed for the severe treatment which she accorded to Anna Leopoldovna and her family. De la Chétardie, however, is said to have recommended that they should be put to death, on the principle, no doubt, on which the execution of Straf-

ford was recommended: "Stone dead hath no fellows." It is singular how often the Russians have been instigated or assisted in cruelties, for which they have been justly blamed, by foreigners who came from the more cultured countries of the West.

The German party in St. Petersburg had much hampered France in her course of continued opposition to Austria. In fact, the French historians dwell with particular delight upon the circumstance that the Treaty of Belgrade, by which Austria was obliged to hand back to Turkey some of her newly made conquests, had been altogether planned by France. The attachment of the newly made empress to France was, as we shall see, really an abiding passion. Until the day of her death Elizabeth spoke of Louis XV. with enthusiasm; perhaps the only human being who ever did so. The marriage of Louis and Elizabeth had been contemplated, but this union was not to be. The French king, by some curious piece of intrigue, married Marie Leczinski, the daughter of the good Stanislaus. During the reign of Anne Ivanovna, France was anxious that Russia should join her against Maria Theresa. While Ostermann was in power there was but little chance that the overtures made by France would meet with success. Biron also sympathized with Austria. When Anna Leopoldovna had been proclaimed regent Frederick's hopes had risen, seeing that the prince was his brother-in-law, and Münnich was to be gained over. In his history of that time Frederick tells us how he sent Baron de Winterfeldt as ambassador to Russia ostensibly to congratulate Anna and her husband on their accession to the regency. The real motive, however, was to gain over Münnich, the father-in-law of Winterfeldt; and success crowned the mission. Finch announced to his government (December 20, 1740) the arrival of Winterfeldt, and he wrote a few days later to the effect that Münnich thought that Austria ought to give Prussia satisfaction. These sentiments met with gratitude from Frederick. He gave to Malzahn, the son-in-law of Münnich, a commission as colonel in his army; he sent the field-marshal himself a diamond ring, and presented his son with an estate on the Oder. The recipients on their side were equally grateful. Frederick tells us how Winterfeldt procured a treaty of alliance between Prussia and Russia. It was not long, however, before Münnich fell into disgrace, and the treaty was put an end to by an alliance between Maria Theresa, Russia, Holland, and the King of Poland. This combination was an over-

whelming blow to the King of Prussia, and shortly afterward the revolution broke out which placed Elizabeth upon the throne of Russia.

Lestocq has been regarded as the author of the revolution, but in reality he had only put himself at the head of public opinion. The Russians were tired of the German yoke, and in Elizabeth they found a sovereign of true Russian descent. The requisite money had been furnished by De la Chétardie. Vorontsov was made minister. Finch notices the growing French ascendency; and, indeed, this was to be a reign of French sympathies.

Lestocq had taken advantage of the confidence which Elizabeth reposed in him, and had continually reminded her of her rights to the throne; of the attachment of the people to her, and how easy it would be to take the reins of power out of the hands of the weak Anna Leopoldovna. Elizabeth well understood the claims of her house, but she loved an idle, irresponsible life, and viewed with timidity the assumption of imperial duties. It is probable that she would never have made up her mind to seize the supreme power if Anna Leopoldovna had not more or less compelled her to do so in self-defense, for the latter had planned to marry her to one of the smaller German potentates, with the view of removing her from Russia.

The fate of Anna and her family was a sad one. Elizabeth at first wished to send her with her son and husband to Germany; but she afterward seems to have reflected that a party might be formed with the object of placing Ivan upon the Russian throne. Accordingly Anna and her family were detained for more than a year in a fortress near Riga; thence they were removed to Ranenberg in the government of Riazan; and here Anna was separated from her son. She and her husband were sent to Kholmogori, a dreary place in the north of Russia.

Their son Ivan was shut up in the fortress of Schlüsselburg. The unfortunate boy is added by some to the list of the Russian emperors. At his accession he was a mere baby eight weeks old. The two younger brothers and two sisters received their liberty in 1780, and were sent to Denmark, where they died. One of the daughters survived into the nineteenth century. We are told that when the offer came to the survivors to leave their prison they were unwilling to go; continual seclusion had made them almost half-witted, and they had lost all zest for the world.

Anna survived her downfall only five years, dying in 1746. A few years before we read of her as dressed in crimson velvet, embroidered with gold, with diamond bracelets. All this was to be exchanged for the miserable life and death of a state prisoner. Her husband, Anthony Ulrich, continued a wretched life of drinking and card-playing for thirty years longer. Many changes occurred in the Russian Government, but no heed whatsoever was taken of him.

But in this wholesale condemnation of the German faction there were included some men who had done Russia good service. The empress, who was now triumphant, and who on the occasion of assuming the reins of power had been followed to the winter palace by the acclamations of the whole population, could have afforded to be lenient. Münnich, Ostermann, Golovkin, and others were sentenced to be executed, but their punishment was commuted into banishment to Siberia. Finch, an English envoy, sent to his government a striking account of the behavior of some of them on the scaffold, whither they were taken under the impression that they were to be put to death. Ostermann was actually obliged to put his head on the block, but was then pardoned. He displayed the greatest *sang-froid,* and when he got up quietly asked them to give him back his wig. Münnich never quailed in the least when on the scaffold. He told his guards that they had found him brave enough when he had led them to battle, and they would find him brave now—the hero of many a fight was to be dauntless to the end.

The prisoners soon commenced their dreary journey to the Siberian snows. Münnich was to be deported to Pelim, whither Biron had been sent. He is said, indeed, by Manstein to have been confined in the same prison which he himself had designed for Biron. We are also told that his banishment had followed so closely upon that of Biron that he overtook the latter at a passage of the Volga, where he had been detained some time by a flood. Biron seems to have been fortunate in getting a minimum of punishment. Elizabeth had him removed from Pelim to Yaroslavl in European Russia, where he was interned indeed, but under a far milder system of discipline. The brave Münnich was to languish in exile for twenty years, until Peter III. came to the throne. Ostermann was sent to the dreary town of Berezov, where Menshikov had died, and the Dolgorukis had suffered their imprisonment.

There he also died in 1747. Golovkin, the Chancellor Löwenwold, and Julia Mengden also ended their days in Siberia.

If the adversaries of Elizabeth were somewhat severely dealt with, she had lavish rewards for her supporters. Lestocq received a pension of 7000 rubles a year, was continued as the physician of the empress, and made head of the department of medicine in Russia. The three hundred grenadiers also received their reward. Elizabeth formed of them a bodyguard, the common soldiers of which had the rank of lieutenant, and of which she assumed the captaincy herself.

We must now return for a while to the intrigues of the continental powers in Russia, some of whom had contributed, as we have seen, not a little to the eventual triumph of the new empress.

Frederick of Prussia was anxious to know what the policy of Russia was to be, but it was difficult to forecast. If De la Chétardie had had as much influence as we are led to believe he possessed, there can be no doubt that Elizabeth would immediately have made an alliance with France and have sent to the assistance of Frederick the very troops which had assembled in Livonia to march against him. Lestocq was in favor with France, but Bestuzhev, who as chancellor directed foreign affairs, had leanings toward England, and in consequence toward the court of Vienna. As to the empress, she had not, as Frederick saw, a predilection for any of the powers in preference to the rest; but she clearly regarded with coldness the courts of Vienna and Berlin. Anthony Ulrich, the husband of the regent whom she had dethroned, was cousin-german to Maria Theresa, nephew of the empress dowager, and brother-in-law of the King of Prussia. Elizabeth was, therefore, not without fear that the ties of blood would cause those powers to intervene in favor of the family upon whose ruins she had established her rule. Bestuzhev, however, would probably in due time have overcome the repugnance of Elizabeth: Russia in alliance with England and Austria would have declared war against Prussia, which would thus have been taken in the rear. From day to day the English influence increased, and the neglect of public business by Elizabeth made Bestuzhev master of the situation. Wych, the new English minister, thus wrote on October 21, 1742: "As the empress likes hunting very much, and is generally very tired at night, the ministers have seldom an opportunity of introducing state affairs to her notice." Wych, however,

1742

managed to manipulate both Lestocq and Bestuzhev, the former receiving a pension of about $5000 a year from the English king. But Elizabeth still remained undecided and could not be induced to enter into an alliance with England and Austria. The Marquis of Botta d'Adorno, the Austrian ambassador, who has been previously mentioned, made persistent efforts to win over Elizabeth. He is said to have encouraged a plot to put Ivan on the throne, which was discovered after he had left the country. Certainly many persons were punished by the secret chancery because they were supposed to have participated in a plot of the kind. Maria Theresa neither acknowledged nor repudiated the impeachment. Frederick, however, to whom Botta d'Adorno was accredited as minister after he left Russia, professed to be much shocked at his conduct, and refused to receive him. Such terms as he could secure from Russia were insignificant, and he attributed the failure of his overtures to Bestuzhev. The court of Versailles also cordially detested Botta d'Adorno because he had opposed the policy of De la Chétardie. The latter was therefore again sent to Russia to compass, if possible, the disgrace of the obnoxious minister. In this he was seconded by the Prussian envoy, De Mardefeldt. It was at this time that a marriage was negotiated between Peter, the heir of Elizabeth, and Sophia of Anhalt-Zerbst, afterward the world-famous Catherine. This Peter was the grandson of Peter the Great, being the son of his daughter Anne, who died in 1728, the wife of Karl Friedrich, the Duke of Holstein; the latter survived his wife eleven years. The support given to him by Peter the Great and the pains he took to bring about the marriage have already been mentioned.

Frederick laid much stress on the marriage which he, too, was on this occasion furthering. He thought that a Russian princess of German origin and brought up in Prussian territory must needs retain some affection for her native country. In his memoirs he dwells on the necessity of being friendly with Russia, although in terms very uncomplimentary to the latter power. Catherine, however, when she became a Russian grand duchess, found that in order to be popular she must get rid of all sympathies except those that she entertained for her adopted country; and, later in life, she used to tell her surgeon to bleed her so that not a drop of German blood should be left in her veins.

The young Duke of Holstein, who was the nephew of the

empress, and destined to succeed her, arrived in St. Petersburg in 1742, being then only thirteen years of age. Elizabeth soon began to look out for a wife for him. Among others the Princess Ulrica of Prussia, the sister of Frederick, and the Princess Marianne, the daughter of Augustus of Saxony and Poland, were thought of. There were, however, obstacles in the case of both these ladies, and Sophia of Anhalt-Zerbst was eventually chosen. She was born at Stettin, May 1, 1729, being the daughter of the governor of the city, Prince Christian August, and the Princess Johanna Elizabeth. The latter was of the Holstein family, and, therefore, a connection of her daughter's future husband. In the memoirs of Catherine, published by Herzen in London, nothing is said of her early life. She is reported to have written a playful biographical sketch for her friend, the Countess Bruce, but the manuscript is now lost. In 1776, in her correspondence with Baron Grimm, she jokingly alludes to her reminiscences of Stettin and the dull life she had led there.

The young lady, provided with a celebrated letter from her father, which is still to be read as a curious specimen of the style of a German prince at that time, arrived in St. Petersburg in February, 1744, and her marriage with Peter was celebrated in the following year.

Meanwhile, Tyrawly, the new English minister to St. Petersburg, was doing his best to get the Russian court to enter into an alliance with George II. He wrote to his government to the effect that the Russian attitude of thought was that they were too strong to be attacked on their own territory, and did not care the least as to what was going on in other parts of the world. According to Tyrawly, Bestuzhev was now engaged in devising some way of persuading the empress to take possession of the dominions of the King of Prussia and to hand them over to the Poles, who in return were to give up such portions of their territory as were inhabited by Greek Catholics. He thought that the empress might be captivated with this idea, and he knew that he could count upon the support of the clergy. But the plan, although concocted by Bestuzhev and the English resident, did not commend itself to Elizabeth. One strong reason against it was that, owing to her extravagance and liberalities to her favorites, the treasury was always empty. The only thing which could dispose her to undertake a war would be the granting of very large subsidies. Fred-

erick on his side thoroughly realized this fact, but he was far too poor to offer any resistance; all he could do was to bribe her ministers. Accordingly he sent a considerable sum of money to be divided between Bestuzhev and Vorontsov. Maria Theresa also sent them some valuable rings, hoping to gain them over to her side.

Frederick had resumed his war with Austria and his troops had entered Bohemia. Bestuzhev, who, in spite of the presents which he had received, still nourished a dislike of Frederick, continued to urge Elizabeth to declare war. The English resident seconded his endeavors, and in the dispatches to his government declared that Vorontsov, the chancellor, was the only obstacle. But Elizabeth was not to be shaken, and England now sent Lord Hyndford. But the new minister, although he promised an immediate subsidy, was no more successful than Tyrawly. Elizabeth could not be induced to declare war against Frederick, although, according to an English dispatch of November 3, 1745, she spoke very depreciatingly of him. Whatever her reasons for disliking him may have been, they were soon reinforced by some satirical remarks which he had made and which were duly reported to her.

Frederick, however, had his usual good luck in tiding over difficulties. His great military talents now began to indicate him as the first captain of the age: he was able to make advantageous terms both with England and Austria, and under the circumstances did not trouble himself much about Russia. He did not scruple, therefore, to withhold from Bestuzhev the bribe which he had promised, and that minister became in consequence very anti-Prussian: his animosity was accentuated by his impecuniousness, and it was not long before he became the sturdy beggar and boldly demanded a gratuity from the English ambassador. Lord Hyndford made this request the subject of one of his dispatches; but England also had no further need of Bestuzhev, who had in consequence to look to other quarters for supplies.

In 1748 the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed, and it was by the influence of England that Russia was one of the signatories and was thus treated as one of the great powers. The peace was, however, of an ephemeral nature, and only brought about by the temporary exhaustion of Austria. She was in reality preparing for another attack. She could not brook the loss of Silesia, and her policy was to effect as close a union as possible between Russia and

herself, and to provoke a quarrel between Elizabeth and Frederick. This was not a difficult thing to do, for Bestuzhev still nourished his resentment. An occasion soon offered itself. A triple alliance had been concluded between France, Prussia, and Sweden, at which the Russian cabinet took offense, and large bodies of troops were massed on the Prussian frontier. At the end of 1750 the Russian minister left Berlin, and Frederick also recalled his minister from St. Petersburg. England was not behindhand: she offered Russia a subsidy, and the latter undertook to have an army of 60,000 men ready in Livonia, and also a fleet for operations by sea. The plan was approved at St. Petersburg, and the only thing wanting was the signature of the empress, which, however, was continually withheld on the most frivolous pretexts. The English minister, Guy Dickens, wrote in 1755 to say that Bestuzhev showed quite as much aversion to business as his mistress. He also has much to say about the continual round of gayeties which was going on at the court. In the same year we find him informing his government that he was too old to endure the constant festivities which a foreign minister was expected to attend. He was accordingly replaced by the versatile and fashionable Sir Charles Hanbury Williams. The new minister received the most stringent orders to revive the treaty with Russia. He had been an intimate friend of Sir Robert Walpole, and naturally one of his political adherents. Austria laid down as one of the conditions of her alliance with England that she must be assisted by Russia against France. She was anxious to get back Silesia, and therefore the Russians must be secured at any price. Kaunitz, the Austrian prime minister, was continually urging this upon the English, and Sir Charles Williams put the policy into practice. He wrote to his government, naming the sums by which the various Russian officials could be bribed; and on August 9 he was able to report that a convention had just been signed with Russia, the principal object of which was the support of that country against France and the coöperation with Austria. Bestuzhev received for the help which he gave to the undertaking about $50,000, besides the ordinary diplomatic presents. Williams suggests that a good deal of this money would go into the coffers of the empress, and he adds " since she is at the present time building two or three large palaces, she must be in need of it." In a later dispatch he dwells upon the facility with which the Russian court was to be manipulated. He even states the sum for which, in his

opinion, the empress herself could be purchased. "Fifty thousand pounds more or less for the private use of the empress would have a great effect."

The English Government, however, did not altogether approve of the convention which Sir Charles Williams had concluded. But the convention succeeded in so far as it maintained good relations with Austria, and Kaunitz expressed himself as entirely satisfied with it. The English ministers, therefore, ratified the convention, but in order to leave a door open for reconciliation with Frederick on some future occasion, communicated the terms to the Prussian monarch. England was not prepared to make a sacrifice simply to gratify the resentment of Maria Theresa. Her point of view was well described in a dispatch of Lord Holderness to the English minister at Berlin (October 10, 1775): "Our object is France, that of Austria is Prussia. She will not help us against France unless we make Prussia an enemy and assist her to regain what she has lost in the last war. Assuredly in our present condition it would be folly to enter into such projects." These views were known to Maria Theresa and her advisers, and precautions were taken against them accordingly. Among other measures Austria sent to St. Petersburg Count Zinzendorf without any apparent object, but it was not long before the watchful Sir Charles Williams began to suspect that Austria and Russia were making a secret treaty without the knowledge of England. The English Government had, as we have said, communicated to Frederick the terms of the convention already made with Russia, to which nothing but the signature of the empress was lacking. Frederick showed his usual presence of mind and energy; he labored to become the ally of England instead of her enemy, and on June 16, 1756, he signed a treaty by which England and Prussia guaranteed to each other the integrity of their respective dominions. Never surely was there a greater diplomatic entanglement and display of statecraft.

Elizabeth made no haste to ratify the convention, and Williams speaks of it as having lain five days on her table. Finally, however, the ratification took place. This convention was practically nullified by a clause to the effect that it was to have no value except in the event of the King of Prussia attacking the possessions of the King of Great Britain or those of his allies. This was hardly likely to happen, seeing that England had just concluded a treaty of mutual guarantee with Prussia. In his dispatch the English minister de-

scribes the conversation which took place between him and Bestuzhev, and how the latter complained that he had not yet received the money promised him. In the midst, however, of the plotting and counterplotting going on everywhere around him, to which it must be acknowledged he himself contributed a considerable share, Williams now began to look into the possibilities of the future. The empress was in a feeble state of health, and it was now calculated that she could not live more than six months. The rising sun to be worshiped was the Grand Duchess Catherine, who, to judge by the masculine spirit which she showed, was sure to rule her husband as soon as she ascended the throne. Williams, who was an exceedingly clever diplomatist, had not only bought Elizabeth's ministers, but had established himself on an excellent footing at the little court of the grand duke and his wife. The latter was very favorable to an alliance between England and Russia, and Williams was able to inform his government that the grand duchess had spoken to him with enthusiasm of the English king, and with much coldness of the King of Prussia. She had forgotten that to the latter she in reality owed her position. But there is no gratitude in politics, and she was as ready to cut herself adrift from the Prussian connections of her family, in the army of which country her father had been an officer, as Sophia, the wife of Ivan III., was to forget the Latin teachings of the Roman court where she had received alms as an orphan.

On May 1, 1756, France and Austria signed the Treaty of Versailles, and on May 27 England formally declared war against France. Meantime Williams informed his government that vast bodies of men were being massed in Livonia, the number of which was said to amount to 140,000, but that he was not able to fathom the plans of the Russian cabinet. He only mentioned that the hatred felt by the empress for the King of Prussia seemed to be very great. Keith, however, the English minister at Vienna, assured his government that there was a close alliance between Austria and Russia. But it was not only with Austria that England had to deal; France had gradually regained a great deal of her influence. A few years before Du Chatelet, the French ambassador in London, had had a personal quarrel about precedence with the Russian ambassador, Chernichev. The latter pocketed the affront, but Elizabeth resented it, and recalled her ambassador from Paris. In order to renew the relations which had thus been interrupted,

the French court dispatched a certain Scotchman named Douglas, one of the broken-down adherents of the Pretender, who was ready to embrace any opportunity for bettering his fortunes. Douglas seems to have performed his task excellently, and soon reëstablished friendly relations between the French and Russian courts. The Scotch adventurer did not allow his mission to be easily discovered; and when the suspicious Austrian ambassador asked him why he had come to Russia, he answered: "At the advice of my medical man, who recommended me to try a cold climate for the benefit of my health." Williams now found himself obliged to inform his government that the Russian court was growing ill-affected toward England. According to the dispatches which he sent home, this change was entirely owing to the influence of Ivan Shuvalov, the great patron of letters, of whom we shall speak presently; he was at this time a favorite at court, and had a *penchant* for all things French. While, however, Douglas was anxious to be in favor with Elizabeth, Williams busied himself with paying court to the Grand Duchess Catherine. The latter made a downright demand for a sum of money from the English, and Bestuzhev also again became importunate. The English cabinet finally agreed to give the grand duchess about $46,000, and to pension Bestuzhev. While these complicated intrigues were in progress, Frederick, feeling that the time for action had come, at the beginning of September entered Saxon territory. On October 1, 1756, he defeated the Austrians at Lobositz, and the Saxon troops thereupon laid down their arms. The success of the Prussian king completely disconcerted his adversaries.

Maria Theresa sent an emissary to the Russian empress with the object of inflaming her against Frederick. She insinuated that the latter really had designs upon Russia, and meant to put the young Ivan upon the throne; to this Elizabeth replied that if he attempted anything of the kind she would have Ivan's head cut off.

Meanwhile the great force massed in Livonia still remained inactive, and as Williams informed his government, the general in command was ludicrously incapable. The English minister thus writes (September 18, 1756): "Apraxin is to command the Russian army. He has been recently made field-marshal. He is the idlest of men, and cowardly to a degree. A little while ago he was grossly insulted and almost beaten by the hetman of the Cossacks (Cyril Razumovski), and he shewed no resentment whatever."

Williams goes on to tell us among other things that this redoubtable hero was enormously stout.

Frederick now made use of Williams to convey to Bestuzhev a present of a hundred thousand crowns in order to induce the latter to espouse his cause. The English ambassador has described in his dispatches how the dishonest minister waxed more favorable to Frederick, the more he offered him, and finally wound up by promising to serve the Prussian monarch as soon as an occasion offered itself.

According to the account given by Frederick himself in his writings, he had found among the state papers at Dresden, when the city came into his power, a letter from Bestuzhev to the Count de Brühl, urging him to poison the Russian resident at that court. The fact that Frederick had got possession of this letter must have put Bestuzhev in his power. Be this, however, as it may, Bestuzhev remained faithful to Frederick, though he in reality relied much more upon the Grand Duchess Catherine and her husband. The latter on one occasion defended the Prussians in the council, but was silenced by the empress. Frederick, however, although he had begun the war successfully, was far from confident. He told the English envoy, Mitchell, that the house of Brandenburg itself was at stake. He had already France and Austria against him, and could not hope to withstand them if Russia arrayed herself on their side.

Hostilities, which had been suspended by the severity of the winter, were now to be resumed. The most important thing was to insure that the vast Russian army should not move. Mitchell wrote to Williams that the Prussian king thought the best thing to do would be to give a sum of money to Apraxin to induce him to delay marching, which, the king added, he might do under various pretexts. But even as late as two months afterward Williams informed his colleague that Apraxin had sent an orderly to get him twelve suits of clothes from St. Petersburg, from which is would appear that he was in no hurry to move; and inactive he would probably have remained had he not received orders from the empress to begin the campaign at once. He had 83,000 men under arms, and the Prussian frontier on the side of Russia was almost entirely undefended.

On June 30, 1757, Apraxin appeared before Memel, which capitulated in five days; and on August 30 Marshal Lehwald,

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Frederick's general, was completely beaten by the Russian general in the great battle of Gross-Jägerndorf, in eastern Prussia. The aged general ventured to attack the Russian camp. The Germans lost 4000 slain, and 600 prisoners and 29 guns were taken.

Apraxin might now, in fact, have crossed the Oder and taken possession of Prussia, but he made no use of his victory, and retreated across the Niemen, retiring into winter quarters in Poland as if he had been beaten. The cause of this was manifest when the papers of the chancellor, Bestuzhev, were examined. It was then discovered that he had been tampered with.

Meanwhile Sir Charles Williams was recalled by his government, as it was felt that the English policy had met with a considerable check. On quitting Russia, however, he received a kind letter from the Grand Duke Peter, and a still more enthusiastic one from the grand duchess, who assured him that it would be one of the occupations of her life to bring Russia into close relations with England, so that they might attack France in common; the greatness of which country, she added, is the disgrace of Russia.

The grand duchess was no doubt implicated in the plot by which the progress of Apraxin had been checked. Bestuzhev was immediately arrested and punished. The field was now open for the maneuvers of Austria and France. Douglas, the Scotch adventurer, had been recalled, and his place taken by the Marquis de l'Hospital, with the title of ambassador. There were naturally loud complaints against Apraxin, whose conduct was only explicable on the supposition that he was doing all he could for Frederick. The empress was induced to remove him from his post, and to appoint Fermor commander in chief in his place.

William Fermor was of English extraction, and connected with the same family which claimed the famous Arabella, the heroine of the " Rape of the Lock." He had been the favorite adjutant of Münnich, and was an excellent artillery officer and engineer; he had been made colonel for his services in the Turkish expedition in 1736, and had served with Lacy in Finland in 1741. Apraxin was summoned to St. Petersburg to explain his conduct. His treason in connection with Bestuzhev and the grand duchess was only too evident. But he soon disappeared from the scene, and died in August, 1758.

Frederick still continued to believe that Elizabeth might yet be brought over to his side, and the same opinion was held by the

English. Keith, the successor of Sir Charles Williams, as the envoy of the British Government, was a man much his inferior. Bestuzhev hoped that he would be able to tide over his troubles by the help of this man. But before the latter could reach St. Petersburg the Russian chancellor had already been overthrown. He was arrested February 24 on the charge of having conspired to dethrone the empress and hand over the crown to the grand duchess. The fallen minister was sentenced to death, but his punishment was commuted into exile to one of his estates 120 versts from Moscow. The chancellorship was then given to Michael Vorontsov. Keith seems to have found the English party at the lowest ebb and himself powerless. Meanwhile the Russians had crossed the Polish frontier without paying any attention to the protestations of the republic, and devastated the Prussian territories wherever they went. Fermor made himself master of Königsberg, Thorn, and Elbing, and laid siege to Küstrin. But the battle of Zorndorf on August 25, 1758, in eastern Prussia proved that Frederick was not altogether a negligible quantity. In this sanguinary battle the Russians lost about 20,000 men, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, and 103 guns, but the loss of the Prussians was also very great, and Frederick showed no desire to renew the conflict. The command was now taken from Fermor and given to Peter Soltikov, a member of an illustrious family, but hitherto a man of no mark as a commander.

The new commander took ample vengeance upon Frederick at Kunersdorf, near Frankfort-on-the-Oder, August 12, 1759, where the Prussian monarch suffered a crushing defeat. Fermor was present at this battle, but only as commander of a detachment. The Russian army had taken possession of Frankfort and established a strong position on the hills between the Oder and the village of Kunersdorf. Here it was joined by 18,000 Austrian cavalry under the command of General Laudon. The number of the allied forces amounted to 60,000 men. The Prussian king lost all his artillery, amounting to 200 guns, 7000 killed, 4500 taken prisoners, and about 8000 wounded. His suite had difficulty in removing him from the field of battle, on which he lingered, hoping that some friendly shot would put an end to his existence. His fortunes were now at their lowest ebb, and he meditated committing suicide. Mitchell, the English resident at his court, wrote to say that Prussia was exhausted. In spite, however, of the desperate state of his affairs,

Frederick laid aside about $184,000 to be distributed among the ministers and principal councilors of Elizabeth. He knew by the dispatches of Keith that the Russians were getting tired of the war. Meanwhile the ill-health of the empress continued; the grand duke looked forward to the time when her death would allow him free action.

Elizabeth still continued to hate Prussia, and seems to have cherished the idea of a permanent annexation of a part of that country. Ivan Shuvalov, who was now high in her favor, even ventured to broach the subject to Keith, with the view of ascertaining how far the Russians might look for assistance from the English in the matter. But Keith rejected his overtures. The Russians in the campaign of 1760 committed terrible ravages in Prussia under Todleben, a German in the service of the empress. They entered and pillaged Berlin; the arsenal was destroyed and a contribution levied upon the city. The king on hearing of the savage way in which Todleben was conducting the war uttered the memorable words: "We have to do with barbarians who are digging the grave of humanity."

Even the English Government, now under the new ministry of Bute, began to think of giving Frederick up as lost. He was on the very verge of ruin, when, what was for him a piece of supreme good fortune, the empress, who had long been ailing, expired on January 6, 1762.

The foreign affairs of Russia during her reign had been chiefly confined to participation in the Seven Years' War. With Sweden and Turkey she was at peace.

In 1755 the first Russian university, that of Moscow, was founded through the influence of Ivan Shuvalov, who was the Mæcenas of his time, and is remembered as the patron of the poet Lomonosov, and others. St. Petersburg was ornamented with many handsome buildings; French architects, musicians, and painters made their appearance. The palaces erected by the tsaritsa were, however, chiefly from the designs of the Italian Rastrelli. Volkov opened a theater under the patronage of Elizabeth, and the stage became a national institution.

In this reign, too, was established a kind of political inquisition, empowered to examine into and punish all disloyal remarks and criticisms upon the government. This naturally gave an opening to informers. Accusations under the title of *slovo i dielo* (the

word and the deed) had been heard of since the time of the Emperor Alexis, but hitherto they had not received official recognition; as a consequence, a great number of people were sent to Siberia during the reign of Elizabeth.

Literature, too, was raising its head. Cantemir, a man to whom Russia owes a great deal, had flourished in the time of Anne. He had been ambassador both in London and Paris. Professor Aleksandrenko of Warsaw has given us an insight into the learning of this remarkable man by printing the list of his books; his habits have been carefully chronicled by the French spies who watched him. He died in 1744. He was the son of the Hospodar Dmitri Cantemir, who was so much mixed up with Peter's unfortunate expedition to the Pruth.

Trediakovski, the court poet during the reign of Anne, possessed but little merit as a writer. His dull epic, the "Telemakhida," was a subject of jest among the wits of the reign of Catherine II. She is said to have made any courtier who committed a breach of etiquette at one of her evening parties learn by heart a certain portion of this dismal production by way of penalty. Trediakovski, however, did much to improve the style of Russian versification.

The glory of the reign of Elizabeth was the brilliant and discursive Lomonosov, epic and lyrical poet, and writer on scientific subjects. He also compiled the first Russian grammar published in Russia. As has been already mentioned, one had appeared at Oxford in 1698. The story of the life of Lomonosov is very interesting. He was born near Archangel, the son of a poor fisherman. He contrived to find his way to Moscow with a load of fish, and was admitted to one of the schools there. He was afterward sent to Germany to complete his education, and finally attained to a very high position in his native country. He died in 1765.

Mention must be made of the dramatic author Sumarokov, interesting in many ways. Although, strictly speaking, a native drama had not been formed in the country, Sumarokov had the good sense to choose national subjects for his plays. He was the first Russian professional author, and had all the caprice of the *genus irritabile*. His periodical writings remind us in some measure of the style of the "Spectator." He also first introduced the Russians to a knowledge of Shakespeare by his adaptation of "Hamlet," which, however, differed very much in form from the

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original. Sumarokov survived into the age of Catherine, and died in 1777.

In the reign of Elizabeth, too, died Basil Tatistchev (1686-1750), who was both a statesman and an historian. He compiled a history of his native country, which, if not exactly a critical work, was in advance of the chronicles which up to that time had been the only historical productions. It was not published until after his death.

Chapter VIII

THE ASSASSINATION OF PETER III. 1762

ELIZABETH was, according to the settlement of the crown which she had made by virtue of the ukase of Peter, succeeded by her nephew, Peter. The genealogy of this unfortunate man has already been fully explained. He had succeeded to his father's duchy of Holstein in 1739, and there he might have ended his days in peace. At the request of his aunt he came to Russia in 1742. It is singular that the Swedes had, a short time previously, offered him their crown with a view of propitiating Russia. They chose, however, ultimately Adolphus Frederick of Holstein, also connected with the Russian royal family, and were thus enabled to secure more advantageous terms in the Treaty of Abo, following on the little war which they had with their powerful Slavonic neighbor.

The new emperor, as we can see plainly written in his portrait and can gauge by every action, was a thoroughly weak man, and Russia was a country that a weak man could not rule. His face is that of a man who has enfeebled himself morally and physically by self-indulgence, and we know only too much of his brutal orgies from the revelations of Catherine in her memoirs and the reports of the foreign ministers.

On January 5, 1762, Keith had written to his government: "The empress died this afternoon at two o'clock. She caused the grand duke and duchess to be sent for, and took a very tender adieu of them. As soon as she was dead the senators, ministers, and other state functionaries took the oath of allegiance to Peter III., for whom the generality had the most profound contempt."

The first act of the reign of Peter was a complete reversal of the policy of Elizabeth. He was an ardent admirer of Frederick the Great, and in Russia had taken a pleasure in dressing his favorite regiment in the Holstein uniform. He at once sent orders to the

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Russian generals to make an armistice with the ruler whom he regarded with such veneration. During the last years of the reign of Elizabeth French influence, as we have already seen, had been paramount. Peter seems to have embraced every opportunity of displaying his contempt for that power, and, to emphasize matters, at once sent off some French actors who were in the country. A treaty was concluded with the Prussian king in 1762, by which Russia abandoned all the fruits of her victories. On the other hand, it has been pointed out that Russia was gaining nothing by this contest with the Prussian king. The war had been begun from personal pique, and no national question was involved in it; while it had already cost her a great deal of blood and treasure.

The abandonment of the war was not an unpopular measure, and in other respects the new tsar began his reign well. He abrogated the law by which Peter the Great had compelled all members of the Russian aristocracy to take some state function. He also put an end to the secret chancery which had exercised such terrorism during the reign of Elizabeth. This was not, however, to be the last which the Russians were to hear of it. It became active once more during the reign of Catherine II., and the chief inquisitor or head of the secret police, Sheshkovski, was a man of infamous reputation. Peter's next step was to recall from banishment various political offenders who had figured prominently in the last reign. One of the first to come back was the adventurer Lestocq. He was followed by Münnich and his son; and by Biron, in whose case, however, the severity of the sentence had, as we have seen, been relaxed, the Empress Elizabeth having allowed him to live in the provincial town of Yaroslavl. Ostermann, to whom Russia owed so much, was dead.

Keith had some startling episodes to communicate to his government on their return. Both Biron and Münnich appeared at court and were treated by the emperor with much distinction. The two men, once such bitter enemies, seem to have met without rancor and even with a certain amount of politeness. Time and suffering had softened their mutual animosities. Münnich died five years afterward at the age of eighty-four, and Biron, who was seventy-two when he returned, lived until 1772. He was restored by Catherine to his duchy of Courland, the inhabitants of which seem to have cordially detested him.

An attempt on the part of Peter to confiscate lands belonging

to the monasteries met with general opposition. Such a measure had indeed been beyond the power of his great ancestor, Peter. In exchange for the lands he assigned to all classes—from archbishops to monks—a proportionate fixed income. This attempt was undoubtedly one of the principal causes of his downfall, in that by it he lost the support of the clergy; we shall, however, see how it was afterward successfully carried out by the more capable Catherine.

The emperor showed great partiality for the English; he constantly invited Keith, the minister, to his table, and this probably caused the latter to send home to his government such favorable accounts of the new sovereign. The French minister, who was treated with neglect, had very different stories to tell. He has plenty of information about the licentious conduct of Peter and his continued fits of drunkenness. Catherine was treated with contempt, although Frederick, who took Peter under his protection, so to speak, was continually recommending him to consult his wife. Peter, however, paid no attention to his admonitions in this respect, and the memoirs of the Princess Dashkov and of Rulhière are full of stories illustrative of the excesses of the emperor and his quarrels with Catherine. We have also Catherine's own memoirs.

Peter made himself additionally ridiculous by aping German manners and showing a childish idolatry for Frederick the Great. He used to prostrate himself before the portrait of the latter, and boasted that with his assistance he would conquer the world. While treating his wife in a brutal fashion, his puerile and irresolute character placed him completely in her power. He talked about building a special prison in which she should be immured for the rest of her life.

Meanwhile the empress was gaining the popular favor more and more. With great tact she contrived to assume the part of an adherent of the old Russian school; an attitude peculiarly agreeable to a people who had been under German exploitation since the beginning of the reign of Anne.

Peter now allowed himself to become embroiled in a petty war with the court of Denmark, which he accused of attempting to appropriate some of his Holstein dominions. His mentor, Frederick, gave him some valuable advice on this subject. He recommended him to be crowned at Moscow, and reminded him

if he left Russia to lead his troops against the Danes, as he talked of doing, serious complications might occur in his absence. Had not the revolt of the strelitz broken out during the absence of Peter the Great?

Peter, however, turned a deaf ear to all these wholesome admonitions, and went steadily on in the path of destruction. Catherine, meanwhile, was gathering a powerful party round her. At first their idea seems to have been to proclaim as sovereign her son Paul (born in 1754), but this did not at all fall in with her plans, even though she was to be appointed regent. She was assisted at this time by the clever and somewhat unscrupulous Princess Dashkov, one of the most remarkable women produced by Russia.

It was Princess Dashkov who managed to win over Panin, the governor of the young prince. The latter at first, as did also Count Chernichev and others, who favored the idea of a revolution, only contemplated that Catherine should be regent during the minority of her son; and the English minister, Shirley, in a dispatch of March 10, 1762, wrote home to this effect. Now, however, a new adherent of Catherine came on the scene in the person of Gregory Orlov, one of the famous brothers of this name, who were to play so prominent a part in Russian history, and who have cast a lurid light over the affairs of half a century. He was a man of gigantic stature, ready for any violent action. Orlov and his brothers were invaluable to the empress in sowing the seeds of dissenion among the various military regiments; while Panin, Chernichev, Razumovski, and others pulled the strings of the more widely spread political conspiracy.

About this time, we read, Peter paid a visit to the fortress of Schlüsselburg, built on an island at the entrance to Lake Ladoga, where was still confined the young tsar Ivan, the monarch of a few days. The casemate in which the latter was kept a close prisoner, and where his tragic fate occurred, as will be afterward narrated, are still to be seen. Peter is said to have found the poor youth in an almost imbecile condition; Rulhière, however, tells us that he conceived the idea of releasing him and making him his heir.

Meantime, the plot concocted by Panin and others progressed vigorously. Two other important persons mixed up with it were Cyril Razumovski, the brother of the favorite of Elizabeth, and

Vorontsov. The prolonged drinking bouts and absurd actions of Peter more than anything else favored the intriguers. He had become ridiculous in the eyes of the nation. He would begin his drinking bouts early each evening and continue them until he was completely intoxicated. Meanwhile, blind to all that was going on, he was still threatening his wife and declaring that he intended to get rid of her.

After his visit to Ivan at Schlüsselburg, Peter retired to his country house at Oranienbaum, where he recommenced his life of pleasure. In two days, however, on July 8, 1762, the revolution broke out. It has been accurately described in the pages of Rulhière, whose details are confirmed by the reports of the ministers; Keith informed his government that so mighty a change had been effected without shedding a drop of blood. The city wore its usual appearance, the only noticeable thing being the pickets of soldiers stationed at the tops of the bridges and the corners of the streets. Pasek, one of the subordinates, had almost revealed the conspiracy in a fit of indiscretion, but the Princess Dashkov, then only a young woman of twenty, aroused Alexis Orlov at night.

The latter at once set out to summon Catherine and tell her that all was ready. She was then residing at Peterhov, and escaped unnoticed by a back gate. After being somewhat delayed on the road she reached St. Petersburg at six o'clock in the morning. It was at Peterhov that she had long been concocting her measures. A well-known picture represents her getting into a carriage just as the morning was breaking. Like Elizabeth she went at once to the various barracks so that the soldiers might be gained over. She succeeded with all except a cavalry regiment of which the emperor was colonel. The officers refused to join her and were put under arrest. Keith, the English minister, wrote back to his government that the whole affair was over in two hours. Peter knew nothing about what had taken place till the middle of the day. He then went from Oranienbaum to Peterhov with the idea of seizing the empress, but found that she had left the place. He had neglected the most ordinary precautions and had not even secured the possession of the military chest, so that he was without the means of paying any troops who remained loyal to him. He became bewildered and was unable till it was almost evening to form any fixed plan. He then, with a small suite, got

on board a vessel lying at anchor off Peterhov and made for Kronstadt in hopes of being received there. But Talietsin, the commissioner of the admiralty, and Vice-admiral Mardison, who had been sent thither in the morning from St. Petersburg, refused to let him land and even threatened to fire upon him. Thereupon the party in bewilderment made for the opposite bank, on reaching which some retired to Peterhov and others to Oranienbaum. The emperor with a few attendants was among the latter. On Saturday morning he learned that the empress was approaching with a large body of troops. He thereupon sent Prince Galitzin and Major-general Izmaelov to negotiate. The latter returned with a paper drawn up in the form of an act of abdication; this was signed.

Keith adds that it was reported that these terms allowed him to retire to Holstein. This was July 11, 1762. His friends seem now to have deserted him. He had estranged the clergy and the army, and the nation in general was displeased with his dragging them into a war with Denmark on account of his Holstein duchy. Meantime Catherine was carrying all before her. When she saw Münnich, who had survived so many strange revolutions of fortune, she said: "So it was you, Field-marshal, who wanted to fight me." "Yes, madame," replied Münnich, vigorous as ever; "could I do less for the prince who delivered me from captivity? But it is henceforth my duty to fight for you, and you will find in me a fidelity equal to that with which I had devoted my services to him."

The empress received with her son the homage of the citizens, and the revolution was a *fait accompli.* Keith, the minister, in his dispatches gives pretty much the same reasons for the collapse of the power of Peter, as we have above stated; so too does the French minister, but the latter lays more stress on the absolute poltroonery of Peter, who, although he had fifteen hundred Holstein guards still remaining loyal, had not the courage to make use of their services. Münnich, who for a long time had continued his adherent, advised him to go to the army on the frontiers of Prussia, and to return at the head of it. But Peter abandoned himself to his fate almost without a struggle. He now wrote a letter to the empress asking her to pardon him, to give him a pension, and to allow him to retire to Holstein. But the empress replied by dispatching Izmaelov to conduct him from Oranienbaum to Peter-

hov. He was there closely confined and treated with indignity. The outside world now saw no more of him. On July 16 he is reported to have asked for a favorite pug dog, his negro Narcissus, his violin, some novels, and a German Bible.

The revolution was now over. Those who had advocated a simple regency became silent; while others who had inclined to the election of Ivan seemed to abandon their plans. Although Catherine was acknowledged empress she could feel no confidence in her position so long as Peter lived and his name could be used as a rallying cry. But the death of the tsar relieved this situation. The latter was being conducted by slow stages toward Schlüsselburg on the morning of July 7. While proceeding on his journey he stayed at a little country house in the village of Ropsha. There Alexis Orlov, who commanded the escort, and a subaltern officer named Teplov, were seen to go into his room. What there occurred will never be known, but it is certain that Peter was not again seen alive. It was said that he had died of colic, but the French minister, relying upon the testimony of Peter's valet, wrote to his government that the emperor had first been poisoned; the poison not acting with sufficient rapidity, he had been strangled.

It appears that either from prudence or pusillanimity, for which he was reproached by Louis XV., De Breteuil, the minister, had left St. Petersburg abruptly for Warsaw. He handed over the care of the embassy to his chancellor, Bérenger, and a young attaché named Rulhière. The work of the last-named has become one of the great authorities for the events of this revolution. He also wrote a history of the anarchy in Poland, and it was these two works which procured him the honor of being elected a member of the French Academy.

According to the account of another French minister, Alexis Orlov at a later period of his life was heard to express great remorse for the crime he had committed. But the story to the effect that when Orlov came subsequently to England as ambassador, people gazed with horror on his thick fingers because they were known to have accomplished this crime, must be ascribed to the rhetoric of Macaulay.

The body of the unfortunate emperor remained exposed to view for three days in one of the churches of St. Petersburg, in order that no impostors might afterward arise and take his name.

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The bystanders, it is said, clearly noticed the blackened visage of the unfortunate man and the marks upon his throat. According to the dispatch of the English minister, thousands of people flocked to see the corpse. Three days afterward Peter was interred in the cemetery attached to the monastery of St. Alexander Nevski, and not among the other tsars in the Petropavlovski church. There it remained till it was disinterred by the filial piety of Paul.

The French minister seems to have been loath to believe that Catherine was responsible for the murder of her husband. But according to the reports of others her culpability did not admit of any doubt.[1] She received the news, however, with much apparent grief, though probably the only person who lamented the loss of the unfortunate Peter with real sorrow was Frederick of Prussia, who had benefited so much by his succession to the throne, and who had always found in him a sedulous imitator.

Rulhière's account of the revolution was not published during his lifetime, but he was in the habit of reading the manuscript to his friends. Catherine consequently became aware of its existence, and did all she could to suppress it. Diderot seconded her efforts to the utmost of his power, having himself previously urged Rulhière to destroy it. Catherine even talked of purchasing the manuscript. She wrote in the name of Alexander Galitzin, her vice-chancellor, to Khotinski, who was the *chargé d'affaires* at Paris, with instructions to open negotiations with Diderot or Rulhière himself. *"Vous l'engagerez à lui faire la proposition de vous céder son manuscrit au moyen d'une somme que vous lui payerez en dédommagement des profits qu'il en espère et cette somme je ne vous la fixe point; deux trois quatre cents ducats, plus ou moins, selon que vous sentirez les prétentions de l'auteur."* A comic account is given by Tourneux in his *"Diderot et Catherine II.,"* in which the anxiety of Catherine to get possession of the manuscript is very apparent. When the Princess Dashkov came to Paris on her European tour she refused to see Rulhière, so as to discredit his account as much as possible. When the latter was summoned by the Duke d'Aiguillon to give up his book he put himself under the protection of the dauphin (Louis XVI.). In 1773 he added to

[1] There is no proof to show that Catherine was privy to the death of her husband. Circumstantial evidence supports the view that Orlov acted entirely on his own responsibility.

the celebrated anecdotes a postscript in which he collected and refuted the various criticisms which had been made upon his work.

Whatever the circumstances may have been which led to their resolution, the heirs of Rulhière waited till the death of the empress before publishing this important work. It did not make its appearance until 1797, and was almost immediately translated into English. The book is in the main accurate enough.

Chapter IX

CATHERINE THE GREAT. 1762-1796

CATHERINE was not allowed to spend the early days of her reign in tranquillity. There were mutinous signs among the regiments, as well as factions which were still endeavoring to compass the accession to the throne of either the young Grand Duke Paul or the unfortunate Ivan confined in Schlüsselburg. The empress, however, managed well, and was able to tide over these dangers. As a result she came to regard Paul with greater hatred than ever, and made more stringent the confinement of Ivan. Keith, the English minister, to whom we owe so many interesting details, although in the main he was a dull man, now asked permission to be relieved of his duties, and his place was taken by Hobart, Earl of Buckinghamshire, an ancestor of the redoubtable Hobart Pasha.

When Hobart arrived at Moscow he found the empress depressed. There had been some signs of disaffection among the troops, and these favored soldiers ruled Russia much as the prætorians ruled the Rome of the emperors. He seems soon to have fallen under the fascination of this remarkable woman. Nor was the French minister, De Breteuil, less influenced. His dispatches are of quite a glowing character, and it is obvious that Catherine was anxious to create a favorable opinion of herself in western Europe. She gave some offense to her subjects by the favor which she showed to Gregory Orlov. This man, not content with the extravagant privileges which had been conferred on him, even aspired to the hand of Catherine, and to share the throne with her. The empress seems to have had sufficient feminine weakness not to repulse vigorously his advances. According to De Breteuil Catherine received a petition from certain ecclesiastics entreating her to choose a husband from among her own subjects. But Panin, Razumovski, and some other leading courtiers exerted themselves to resist these plans, and tried to put before the empress the perils she would incur if she lowered her-

self so far as to marry Orlov. The very rumor of such a thing caused a riot among the soldiers. Some had the name of Ivan on their lips, and others demanded to be shown the Grand Duke Paul, whose life they said was in peril. The rebellion was hushed up, and many of the common soldiers were punished on the plea that discipline must be maintained. The chief persons concerned, however, were not brought to any trial. The wrath of Catherine fell mostly upon her friend, the Princess Dashkov, to whom she had owed so much on the most important day of her life. The princess retired to her estates in disgrace. The empress, pretending to believe her guilty of complicity in the plot, offered her a full pardon if she would confess. The indignant letter which the princess wrote in reply to the suggestions of the empress has been preserved by Bérenger, the French *chargé d'affaires*. It was as follows: "Madam, I have heard nothing of the subject you mention, and if I had heard anything I should take care not to tell it. What do you want of me? That I should die on the scaffold? I am ready to mount one." Catherine, however, did not pursue her animosity any further, and the princess made no effort to appease her former mistress. Her house became a focus of intrigue against those in power. Owing to the influence of Count Panin, the princess was allowed a little time afterward to return to St. Petersburg. Sir G. Macartney, who had succeeded Hobart as English minister, describes in a letter to his government the manner in which the princess was received by the empress. He goes on to say that the former was a woman of extraordinary character, and very dangerous in a country like Russia, "for," he continues, "in spite of the general brutality of the Russians, women seem to exercise in this country as much authority as among the most civilized nations."

Princess Dashkov, who left her native country in 1770 for a tour, has written an interesting account of her journey. She was for some time at Paris, where she made the acquaintance of Diderot, who seems to have been very much captivated by her. From Paris she went to London and there met Horace Walpole, who has left us an account of the agreeable impression which she made. She also visited Scotland, where she stayed for some time while her son took his degree at the University of Edinburgh. The wits of the modern Athens were surprised at the clever woman who had come among them from the land of the Scythians. But it was

not only at Edinburgh that Russians were educated; many also were to be found at the University of Oxford, some of whom went back and distinguished themselves in their own country.

The year 1764 witnessed the curious attempt of Lieutenant Mirovich to rescue Ivan, who was still kept imprisoned at Schlüsselburg. Mirovich was a Cossack whose grandfather had been ruined by following the fortunes of Mazeppa. This conspiracy is very enigmatical. According to some writers there was no conspiracy at all. Catherine, it is said, was anxious to have an excuse for putting to death Ivan, whose name might still be a rallying cry for her opponents. He was of direct Russian blood and the descendant of Russian tsars, while she was a German parvenu. It is said that she had issued orders to his guards to slay him if ever an attempt to rescue him should be made. Mirovich secured the assistance of some soldiers, and pretending to have an order from the empress, went to the fortress. The officers in charge of the prisoner at once attacked the unhappy young man, who was unarmed, and had in fact just awoke from sleep. Undefended as he was he made a desperate attempt to save himself, but being overpowered and wounded in several places he was finally dispatched by a stab in the back. The officers thereupon threw open the door, and pointing to the body of Ivan, exclaimed, " Here is your emperor." Mirovich started, but retaining complete self-possession, delivered up his sword to the governor, Berednikov. On the following day the body of Ivan was shown to the people. An immense concourse flocked from all quarters, and according to the account of eye-witnesses sympathy with the unfortunate Ivan was expressed on every countenance. Coxe, the historian, who visited Russia during this period and has left us a very valuable narrative of his travels, assures us that he was told by people who saw the body of the dethroned emperor that he was about six feet in height, of athletic build, and with reddish hair.

It is said of Mirovich that when tried and condemned to death, he exhibited no emotion and kept the same *sang-froid* even on the scaffold. He walked to the place of execution with an unconcerned air, crossed himself, and without saying a single word, laid his head upon the block, where it was severed from his body at one stroke. Coxe assures us that he was not gagged, and therefore, his silence must have been self-imposed. The conduct of Mirovich on the scaffold has been cited as proving that he expected a re-

prieve; but the more correct view seems to be that he was a desperate adventurer who thought he would put his fortune to the touch. Catherine must at all events have been glad of the death of so serious a rival. Mirovich had been at first sentenced to be broken on the wheel, but his punishment was commuted by the empress into decapitation.

There still remained one candidate for the throne who had a better claim than the empress. This was none other than her own son. Paul was born in 1754. According to all Russian ideas he was the legitimate heir, his mother had only seized the supreme power by force. She could have no legal claim. She was never entirely at her ease about this son, and, therefore, throughout her reign kept him in the background.

We cannot wonder that such injudicious treatment had a pernicious effect upon the character of Paul. Just as the slights which he had to endure are supposed to have fostered the malignity and dissimulation of Tiberius, Paul showed the feelings with which he regarded his mother by annulling as far as it was in his power those enactments of her reign which were most characteristic of her. Some of the clergy ventured at this time to ask the empress to fix the succession, as the country might be placed in a very awkward position if the Grand Duke Paul should die, and his health was said to be delicate. It was also suggested that the Duke of Brunswick and his family should be allowed to leave Russia. Catherine seemed half inclined to concede this latter request, but the matter was allowed to drop, and the family remained for some years longer in their dreary abode amid the Arctic snows. To the other request the empress does not seem to have returned any answer.

The year in which the fate of the former Emperor Ivan was sealed witnessed the great measure planned by Catherine of secularizing the estates of the church. The Archbishop of Novgorod had been one of the chief actors in the revolution which made Catherine empress. He had also assisted in curbing the power of the monks; but when Catherine was firmly seated on the throne she ignored him, and the miserable man was left exposed to the contempt of his fellow-priests. The boldness of this great ecclesiastical reform on the part of Catherine shows her extraordinary force of character. It had only been by assuming an air of complete orthodoxy that she had been enabled to ascend the throne.

We have already spoken of the great numbers of monasteries in Russia and the serfs which they possessed. These lands and peasants were now handed over to the state and definite salaries were allotted to the priests, varying according to their position in the hierarchy. Peter the Great had attempted a similar reform, as also had his feeble namesake, but the opposition which it met with had prevented its being carried out in both cases. In this way the subjection of the church to the state, which had been begun by Peter the Great, was finally carried into effect.

For a long time after this the dispatches of the English and French ministers are filled with accounts of the struggles between Orlov and Panin. Of the capacity of the latter they speak favorably. He was the tutor of Paul, whose mother seems to have continued to regard him with dislike and suspicion. Gloomy pictures are given of the relations existing between the empress and her son Paul. The latter at this time greatly resented a member of the family of Soltikov being placed as a spy over him. Paul was married in 1773. His wife was a Princess of Hesse-Darmstadt, who was received into the Greek Church under the name of Natalia Alexievna. This unhappy woman was soon drawn into the vortex of universal intrigue.

It will be in order here to speak of the enormous influence of the fantastic, but certainly clever, Potemkin, whose extraordinary vagaries have filled so many pages of books on Russia. Gregory Potemkin was born in 1739, of noble parents, living near Smolensk. They do not, however, seem to have been in very prosperous circumstances, nor had any of the family held high office with the exception of two, who had been ambassadors. Potemkin does not appear to have been in any way a prominent figure until the day when Catherine arrived in St. Petersburg to overthrow her husband. The empress was without a plume to her hat, and Potemkin, like another Raleigh, stepped forward and offered her his own. He seems to have made an impression upon the empress and from that time forward we find him closely associated with her reign. In 1768 he was made major-general.

The new favorite advanced rapidly in the graces of Catherine, and Gunning tells the English Government in 1774 that to the astonishment of the other members of the privy council, Potemkin had taken his place among them. He gradually contrived to displace the most influential ministers of the empress. He devoted

himself to exposing their peculations and, therefore, may in one respect be said to have done the state some service; for there was undoubtedly much misconduct of the kind going on among them. Thus Gunning could tell his government that Chernichev had embezzled a hundred thousand rubles, his only excuse being that his affairs were in an embarrassed condition. To the superficial observer Potemkin appeared merely a man of pleasure. But in reality he possessed talent, and was an accomplished intriguer. At this time he was endeavoring to make himself indispensable to Catherine, who was greatly harassed by the success of the rebellion of Pugatchev.

This remarkable insurrection broke out in 1773. The leader, Emilian Pugatchev, was a Cossack of the Don, who gave himself out to be the Emperor Peter III., having, according to his story, escaped from the clutches of the conspirators. It is said that one day an officer casually remarked to Pugatchev, who was serving in the ranks, that he resembled very much the late tsar. The remark took effect. People had become used to *révolutions de palais,* and persons of high social rank had frequently disappeared among the snows of Siberia. The scantiness and ignorance of the population fed the delusion. There were, moreover, many classes of people eager to seize any opportunity for revolt. Peasants were anxious to break away from their masters. Adherents to the old ritual were irritated by persecutions, and many of the Mongolian races for religious and other reasons hated the Russians. The Cossacks had for a long time been in a state of fermentation.

The revolt broke out. Landed proprietors were massacred wholesale by their serfs. Here and there occurred instances of their being concealed by faithful attendants, but these were rare. We are told of the father of Radistchev, the reformer, that at the time of the mutiny he was obliged to quit his estate and hide himself, leaving his four children in the care of the serfs, who disguised them and thus saved their lives.

The Cossacks of the Yaik, among whom the insurrection really broke out, were a branch of the Don Cossacks, and had been subjects of Russia from the time of the Tsar Michael. Until the reign of Peter the Great they had lived in all the ordinary license of Cossack life—they elected their own hetman and elder, paid no taxes, and were liable to no military duties except a very light service. They were in the habit of committing depreda-

1773

tions on the Caspian Sea, where they plundered Persian trading vessels; now and then they received a severe reprimand from Moscow, but were never efficaciously punished.

Peter had tried to restrain their lawless habits by the same system as the great Stephen Bathory adopted. He had them disciplined and governed by the imperial military college; he caused them to be enrolled and their service fixed; and he himself appointed their hetman. Thereupon the Cossacks had rebelled and retreated into the Girghiz steppes. They could not, however, forget the former days of liberty and license, and there were consequently frequent disturbances on the Yaik in the middle of the eighteenth century. They became more and more violent toward the close of the reign of the Empress Anne and at the beginning of that of Catherine II., and in 1771 it became necessary to send soldiers to subdue them. Nothing but force of arms could put them down. The office of hetman was abolished, and the power which had attached to the post was transferred to the commandant of Yaitsk.

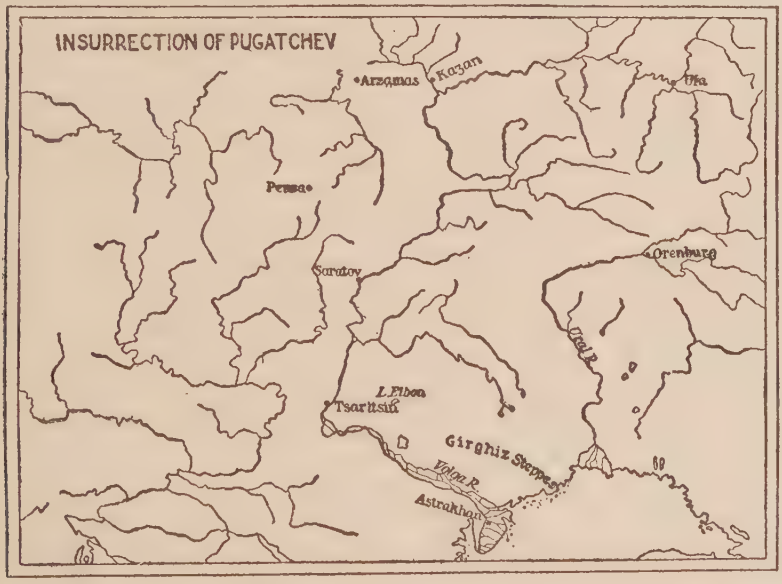
The Cossacks submitted to necessity, but murmured more than ever, awaiting the advent of a leader who should restore to them their former liberty. Such a man appeared in the person of Pugatchev, who was a runaway Cossack of the Don. He had been for some time a preacher of disaffection to the Russian Government, reviling all the new regulations, and endeavoring to persuade the Cossacks to become subjects of the Turks. For this he had been arrested, taken to Kazan, and condemned to imprisonmet with hard labor. But he managed to escape, and soon appeared again on the Yaik. Some of the Cossacks conceived the idea of taking advantage of the supposed likeness of Pugatchev to the late emperor—certainly not very evident, if we compare their portraits. He was, however, a man of a daring and adventurous disposition; added to which he had some knowledge of military tactics, which he had gained while serving against the Turks and Poles. He accordingly took the name of the emperor. He seems to have had in his camp some men of education, who no doubt had their own motives for joining him. Thus he was able to display a Holstein flag; how he obtained it is not known, but it was important for him to have one, considering the character he assumed. So, too, some educated man must have written his proclamations, for he was himself entirely illiterate.

At the outbreak of the insurrection his force numbered 3000 men, which in a short time swelled to 30,000. He made himself master with remarkable rapidity of all the fortified places of the Ural; besieged Orenburg and stirred up the Bashkirs, Kalmucks, and Kirghiz Kazaks. The negligence of the local governors contributed greatly to his success; especially was this the case with the governor of Orenburg, Reinsdorp, a zealous officer, but weak and without much foresight. He had the means of crushing the revolt at the very beginning, but gave it time to spread, and was afterward unable to recover his opportunity.

General Carr, a Scotchman in the service of Russia, who had been sent from St. Petersburg to act in conjunction with Reinsdorp, did not prove equal to the task. He came to the Ural with full confidence that he would have no difficulty in settling the matter. But he seems to have taken no measures, and to have been paralyzed by the increase in the strength of the rebels. He declared that he was ill, left the army, and went back to Moscow. Pugatchev, by this delay, obtained time to strengthen his position still further. He also made good use of another important circumstance. The Cossacks of the Yaik were followers of the old ritual, before the introduction of the changes of Nikon. Of the same persuasion was the rebel himself. These men had, among other superstitions, the greatest horror of the loss of their beards. They heard, therefore, with delight that the new emperor, as he styled himself, would allow them to wear their beards, and restore their ancient liberty.

Catherine saw that decisive steps must be taken if the rebellion was to be crushed. General Bibikov, who had gained reputation by his victories in Poland, was commissioned by the empress for the purpose. It is said she offered him the command at one of the court balls, addressing him in the words of a popular song. He arrived at Kazan, and proceeded to allay the general terror. He organized a powerful force under competent commanders, and hastened to raise the siege of Yaitsk, Orenburg, and Ufa, which had been reduced to great extremities by the rebels. The wise measures of the general, who had both military knowledge and energy, promised a speedy end to the disturbances. Colonel Michelson saved Ufa; General Mansurov relieved Yaitsk; Prince Galitzin beat Pugatchev himself under the walls of Orenburg, and drove him into the steppe as far as the banks of the Tobol.

The rebellion was thus on the point of coming to an end, when matters took an unexpected turn, owing to the death of Bibikov in the full vigor of his powers. His successor, Prince Stcherbatov, did not understand how to complete the discomfiture of the rebel army, and by his continued inactivity gave them time to gather fresh strength. Pursued by a far too small force under the command of Michelson, Pugatchev hurried to the mining establishment in the Ural, seized the treasury, stirred up rebellion among the men employed in the mines, and proceeded to establish there a cannon-foundry. He now invited the Bashkirs, Tatars, and Kalmucks to join him; these, as Mussulmans, were naturally disaffected



to the Russian rule. From the upper part of the Ufa Pugatchev moved with a vast body of men upon Kazan. The garrison consisted of but few defenders, and those in command seem to have lost their heads. They had retired with their men to the old citadel; and thither the townspeople had followed them, despairing of safety. Pugatchev easily gained possession of the town, plundered and burned it, and prepared to make himself master of the citadel with the intention of eventually marching upon Moscow.

Count Peter Panin was now asked to undertake the suppression of the rebellion on the lines adopted by Bibikov, which had

given promises of success. While, however, the new commander was taking measures for the safety of Moscow, and was collecting troops, Michelson succeeded in defeating the rebels. On hearing of the movement of Pugatchev toward the Volga, he quickly followed and came upon him in sight of Kazan, which was fast becoming a heap of ruins. Here a battle took place, which, after lasting for some time, resulted in the victory of Michelson. The rebels were scattered. Pugatchev retreated to the right bank of the Volga, where he issued a manifesto, and partly by coaxing, partly by terror, roused the whole of the district. The entire region of the Volga broke into rebellion, and Pugatchev was ready to march on Moscow, where his confederates had promised him success. Michelson, however, who throughout displayed the greatest activity, diverted his journey at Arzamas, and, without giving him a moment's rest, drove him once more in the direction of the Volga.

Pugatchev now abandoned all thought of marching on Moscow, and began to look out for a refuge in Turkey or Persia. He made a rapid retreat, destroying all the villages and towns in his way, including Penza and Saratov. When he had nearly reached Astrakhan, whence he could easily have escaped to the sea, Michelson fell once more upon him below Tsaritsin, and, having completely defeated him, forced him across the Volga into the steppes. Here, behind Lake Elbon, the rebel was surrounded by the soldiers who gathered together from all quarters. Finally Suvarov came upon the scene and pursued him at the head of Michelson's regiment. The confederates of Pugatchev saw no other means of escaping from the trap into which they had fallen than by throwing themselves on the mercy of the government. They, therefore, resolved to sacrifice their leader. He was delivered up and taken in an iron cage to Moscow. There he was kept for about two months fastened by a chain to the wall and subjected to the gaze of the inquisitive public. He seems to have shown none of the courage that might have been expected from his career. In January, 1775, he was executed, together with five of his confederates. A rudely executed seal, which he used for his official documents, has been preserved. He could not write himself, and therefore these papers had to be subscribed by one of his attendants. Sometimes he seems to have tried to imitate the letters of the Russian alphabet, but his attempts are obviously those of a wholly illiterate man.

The number of persons killed by this insurrectionist was very great, and dreary lists will be found appended to the Russian works on the rebellion. It is not a little curious that even so late as the time when Pushkin was collecting materials for his history, about 1830, he found many peasants who still believed that Pugatchev was the genuine emperor. One old woman said to Pushkin: "You call him impostor, but we call him our tsar, Peter III." If he had not estranged so many people by his reckless and meaningless cruelties, one cannot help thinking he might have met with more success.

The result of this rebellion was that the few remains of the Cossack republic were uprooted, and the very name of the district in which the uprising occurred changed. From this time forth the peculiar mode of life of the Cossack was gone, just as the Highland clan system in Scotland was practically destroyed after the rebellion of 1745, and we may even pursue the parallel still further, since just as in England the name Highlander has been appropriated to certain regiments, so it has been with the name Cossack in Russia.

Catherine had been much alarmed until the rebellion was crushed, for it had seemed to threaten her very crown. Now, however, Gunning was able to inform his government that he had never known the court more tranquil. Potemkin had become the dominant favorite, and it was he who was really ruling Russia. No man ever succeeded so completely in getting Catherine under his influence. The Orlovs attempted to stop this, but he was more than a match for them. The power of Panin he reduced to insignificance, or something very much like it, and contrived to recommend a son of the old General Ostermann to the empress; but of him, we are told, that he was far from inheriting the talents of his father. The English ambassador was pleased at the fall of Panin, as he saw no obstacle to an alliance, offensive and defensive, between England and Russia, and even believed that Potemkin would help him to carry out such a plan; but he was obliged to confess to his government that his maneuvers had been unsuccessful.

Catherine was more or less at variance with her daughter-in-law, whom she had expected to be able to control, but soon found that she had no influence over her. Gunning, writing February 6, 1775, tells his government of the public entry made by the imperial family into Moscow; but the apathy with which she

was received in that city was sufficient to convince Catherine of her unpopularity there. Durand, the French envoy, writing about the same time, has the same tale to tell. Even though the empress remitted an unpopular tax on salt, the citizens received the good news with apathy. She had, he says, waited at a window to watch how the announcement was received, and was not a little mortified by the silence. "How stupid they are!" she cried. On the other hand, the grand duke was the popular idol. This conduct was resented by the empress, who sometimes took petty means of revenge. Thus Durand describes how on one occasion she gave a watch of trifling value to Paul, but made a present to another person of 50,000 rubles. Such a sum was greatly needed at the time by the grand duke, and he had even begged it of his mother. The empress continued to quarrel with his wife; but their altercations were put an end to by the death of the latter in 1776. The grand duke married the Princess of Wurtemberg in September of the ensuing year (1777). She seems to have been a woman of gentle character. In the contemporary pictures which represent her with her husband, the latter appears to considerable disadvantage in comparison. He was short and ill-shaped, with a peculiarly ugly nose, and is said to have been unwilling to have his portrait stamped on the coinage. At all events, from that time, instead of the effigies of the tsar, the coinage bears the double-headed eagle. The good looks of the grand duchess were transmitted to her son Nicholas, who was a very handsome man. Whatever his faults may have been, Paul certainly seems to have been a man fond of a simple, domestic life.

We now come to what was, perhaps, the most important series of events of the reign of Catherine—the dismemberment of Poland. The attention of Russia was by this time concentrated on that unhappy country, which had long exhibited signs of decay. Augustus III. had died in 1763. He was hardly a man to win the affections of his subjects. Dull, apathetic, and engrossed in bodily pleasures, he did not even take the trouble to learn the Polish language. Poland had been reduced to such a condition during his reign that it had come to be called "the public inn"; its dominions might with safety be invaded by the forces of any power that felt so inclined. The country was impoverished by the quantity of false money put into circulation by the Jews.

Augustus III. has left no mark upon the history of Poland.

1776

At Dresden, however, he is better remembered as having been the founder of the famous picture gallery. Stanislaus Poniatowski was next elected king—a man of elegant manners, but feeble and without principle. He was altogether a specimen of the Frenchified Pole, such as Mickiewicz has ridiculed in "Pan Tadewsz."

In spite, however, of his somewhat superficial education, he was a man of some taste. His election was favored by Frederick the Great, whose object was to weaken the country, and who saw that in such a king he would have a tool ready to his hand. He came of an aristocratic family, his uncles being the Princes Czartoryski, whose names are so indelibly engraved in Polish annals. Coxe and other travelers who visited the country have given us very pleasant recollections of Poniatowski; but his memory is viewed with contempt by his countrymen, who will forever associate his name with their greatest national disaster. Poniatowski had formerly been minister at St. Petersburg from the court of Warsaw. He was also one of Catherine's favorites. Attempts were made to remedy the anomalous nature of the Polish constitution, and the mischievous use of the *liberum veto* was abolished. But the division of Poland, which had been planned at an earlier time by Charles XI. of Sweden, and had been prophesied so eloquently by John Casimir, was now to be carried out.

The first proposals for this partition certainly came from Frederick the Great, who was anxious to acquire the littoral of the Baltic and Dantzic. He was the moving power throughout, and only called in Russia and Austria as accessories. The subject was broached at St. Petersburg by Prince Henry as early as 1770; but more than a year elapsed before Russia and Prussia could come to an understanding on the subject. Frederick proposed the plan to the court of Vienna, which finally assented, and the treaty of partition was signed at St. Petersburg in 1772.

Russia received as her portion of the spoils, White Russia, the palatinates of Mstislavl and Witebsk, with the territory beyond the Dnieper. Kiev had belonged to her since 1667 by the Treaty of Andrussovo. Prince Repnin had been sent as Russian ambassador to Poland, and virtually ruled the country. He treated the king with contempt, and did what he could to lower him in the estimation of his subjects. Thus we find him keeping the king and his suite waiting at the theater for the performance to begin until he made his appearance. He even dictated the reports which

Stanislaus was to send to the empress about the condition of the country. Prominent citizens, moreover, were deported to Siberia, and Bishop Soltyk was carried off and interned in Russia. In 1768 had been formed the Confederation of Bar, a league of patriots whose object was to drive the invaders from the country. The name was given them from the little town of Bar, which had been founded in the time of Sigismund I., and was called after Bari, in Italy, in honor of his Milanese wife, Bona Sforza. A foolish attempt was made to seize the person of the king, who was hurried by the conspirators through the public streets and afterward set at liberty. It is difficult to believe how the seizure of such a weak man as Stanislaus could have had any marked effect upon the political situation. The patriotic attempts, however, of the confederates of Bar were checked by the counter-movement of the traitors of Targowica. The old foolish customs were restored, and the country was as a result doomed.

Some of the European courts, seeing the unbounded popularity of Potemkin, now began to load him with honors. That model of the domestic virtues, Maria Theresa, was not behindhand: she made the favorite a prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and of course the astute Frederick followed her example. For a while he was superseded by a new favorite, Zavadovski, upon whom Catherine lavished money and honors. Zavadovski was made major-general, and received 20,000 silver rubles (about $12,000) and a thousand peasants. Soon afterward we find Potemkin sulking and retiring from the court, and some of his rivals even thought that he might end his days in a monastery, which he often threatened to do; for ambition, balked or sated, is apt to produce the devotee. But the pretended pietist was soon to come into power again. He seems to have exercised extraordinary influence over Catherine. Zavadovski now retired to the Ukraine, having received lands in White Russia with four thousand peasants.

The same year (1777) was to witness the visit of the fantastic and theatrical Gustavus III. We are told that the king was charmed with his reception. In 1780 Catherine received the visit of the Emperor Joseph II. She went to Mohilev to meet him, and brought him with her to St. Petersburg, where he stayed a considerable time. Six weeks after he had gone there was another visitor at St. Petersburg. This was the Prince Frederick of Prussia, the nephew of Frederick the Great. The empress, however,

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received him coldly. Potemkin was at this time again in favor, not only with the empress, but also the grand duke. Oakes, however, had soon afterward news to communicate about a fresh favorite. This was a certain Zorich. There was the same lavish squandering of money upon him as upon the others. Oakes writes to say that the new favorite had received a present of an estate in Livonia worth a hundred thousand rubles, and another estate was to be purchased for him from Prince Adam Czartoryski. It was not long, however, before Zorich was hurled from his place.

Oakes was succeeded by Sir James Harris, afterward the first Lord Malmesbury, who has left us a very vigorous picture of the country. Harris arrived with a mission to bring about an alliance offensive and defensive with Russia, but Catherine did not favor the idea, and the plan came to nothing. Harris writes in a very depreciatory manner of the country. He had come to St. Petersburg after a long residence at Berlin, and speaks of finding much luxury and but little morality among the upper classes and among the lower extreme servility. He considers the Russians "varnished Asiatics." While bearing ample testimony to the great talents of Catherine, Harris was by no means insensible to her foibles, and De Corberon, the French ambassador, does not speak in a more flattering way. Later on Harris declared that Potemkin was absolute master of the empress. Of the grand duke and his wife he wrote that they lived in perfect harmony, and that the latter was universally popular. He also tells us of the German inclinations of Paul, and speaks almost prophetically of a fear that he may make himself ridiculous by such propensities as Peter III. had done. Harris has nearly always something to tell of the luxury of the Russian court, but he is especially eloquent when describing the great festival given by the empress on the birth of Alexander, son of Paul, afterward emperor. On this occasion Catherine seems to have displayed the most fantastic extravagance. There are also many tales of the luxury and idleness which pervaded the upper classes throughout the country.

We must now turn to the wars which Russia, under Catherine, was destined to wage against the Turks. Turkey had long felt that sooner or later, owing to the great increase of Russia, she must measure swords with that power, and accordingly declared war in 1767. The Turks, however, had made their preparations in such a dilatory fashion that the Russians were quite ready for

them when the crisis arrived. More than 300,000 Turks under the command of the grand vizier prepared to enter Poland in 1769, with the view of driving the Russians out of the country and removing Stanislaus Poniatowski from the throne. This was in accordance with the sultan's invariable policy of minimizing the Russian influence in Poland. The empress replied by sending into the field two armies, one under the command of Prince Alexander Galitzin, whose object was to prevent the grand vizier from entering Poland; the second, under the command of Count Peter Rumiantsov, was to defend the southern parts of the empire from the inroads of the Tatars of the Crimea. Besides these, detachments were sent to the Kuban with a view of creating a diversion on the part of the Turkish forces, and to the Caucasus in order to coöperate with the Georgians, who were anxious to liberate themselves from the yoke of the Porte.

The first year of the war (1769) was not distinguished by any decisive engagements. The vizier crossed the Danube and directed his march into Podolia. Galitzin blocked his route at Chotin and so prevented him from crossing the Dniester. He succeeded, moreover, in compelling the Turkish army to recross the Danube. This they did in some confusion, and Chotin, a place very celebrated in Slavonic history, surrendered to the Russians September 18, 1769. Catherine, however, not contented with the way in which Prince Galitzin was conducting the war, recalled him and intrusted the chief command to Count Rumiantsov. It was now resolved to get possession of the Turkish fortresses on the left bank of the Danube beginning with Bender; and in the meantime the Russian fleet was sent into the Mediterranean to attack Turkey from the side on which she felt herself quite secure. The sultan, on his part, was discontented with the grand vizier and the Khan of the Crimea, and the former was in consequence superseded by Khalil Pasha, and Kaplin Ghirai was made khan of the Crimea. Potemkin, who was rising in importance as a military man, served under Galitzin and Rumiantsov, but it was not until after the conclusion of peace that his brilliant career began.

In the spring of 1770 Turkey concentrated her forces, consisting of more than 250,000 men, on the left bank of the Danube between the Pruth and the Dniester. The Russian forces amounted to something less. Rumiantsov hurried to the scene of action. Having ascertained that the Khan of the Crimea had already ap-

peared in the neighborhood of Bender, the siege of which had been intrusted to Count Panin, and that the Turks were crossing the Danube in order to unite with the Tatars, he led his soldiers along the left bank of the Pruth so as to meet the khan with the intention of defeating him before the grand vizier could come to his assistance. To insure rapidity in the expedition, the baggage was left behind, and the *chevcux de frise* were abandoned, which up to that time were considered indispensable in a war with the Turks.

" Powder and the sword will be your defense," said Rumiantsov to the Russian soldiers. On July 19 he reached the bank of the Larga, and there found the army of the Khan of the Crimea in a well-fortified position. This he proceeded to attack and succeeded in capturing, together with all the khan's artillery. He scattered the Tatars and then moved against the vizier himself, who with the main army was advancing in the track of the khan and had already reached Trajan's road. Here on the banks of the River Kagul Rumiantsov met him. The vizier halted to fortify his camp and to give time for the Crimean khan to collect his scattered hordes. They were intended to fall upon the Russian rear while he himself attacked in front. The position of Rumiantsov was a dangerous one. His army consisted of no more than 17,000 men weakened by disease and by the loss of some regiments who were protecting the convoy of provisions. These men were exhausted by their rapid marches, by a battle which they had only recently fought, and by the deficiency of food.

In sight were 150,000 Turks, and from behind they were threatened by 80,000 Tatars. But Rumiantsov managed to keep his presence of mind, and having given his soldiers a short time to rest, issued orders for the battle. His army was divided into five squares. General Bauer was ordered to attack the left wing of the enemy, and Prince Repnin and Count Bruce (a descendant of an old Scottish family) to surround the right, while Plemiannikov and Olets delivered the center attack, the commander in chief being himself in front. On the night of August 1, 1770, the army in squares quietly marched on the enemy, and when the morning broke went straight against the camp, which was protected with deep trenches. The Turks seemed at first panic-stricken at the sudden appearance of the Russians, but soon swarmed out of their intrenchments and threw the division of Plemiannikov into confusion. This caused some hesitation on the part of the Russian right

wing, and as a result some regiments were mowed down by the janissaries; others began to retreat. Thereupon Rumiantsov rushed into the thickest part of the fray, and crying out "Stop, boys!" rallied the fugitives. Led by him in person the Russians now took to their bayonets. The enemy began to waver, and their confusion was increased by the excellent fire of the artillery. At length, after many hours of stubborn fighting, the Russian soldiers rushed into the camp on all sides. The vizier fled to Bulgaria, followed by the whole of the Turkish army. The passage of the Danube was a matter of some difficulty, and thousands of the Turks were drowned in its waters. The Khan of the Crimea, who had fallen upon the Russian rear, also took to flight and concealed himself at Ochakov. The whole Turkish baggage and artillery and a vast quantity of treasure remained in the hands of the conquerors. Rumiantsov was loaded with honors by the empress for his victory.

The Russians were equally successful at sea. A short time before the decisive defeat of the Turkish army on the Kagul the Ottoman fleet was defeated in a naval engagement off Tchesmé, on the coast of Asia Minor. In the autumn of 1769 two Russian squadrons sailed from the Baltic into the Mediterranean. The first of these squadrons was commanded by Admiral Spiridov and the second by Vice-admiral Elphinstone, an officer of British birth. In spite of severe weather, violent storms, and inexperience on the part of his sailors, Spiridov passed the Sound, and getting supplies in England, soon appeared in the Mediterranean to the great surprise of the Turks, who had never expected to see Russian ships in the waters of the archipelago. Elphinstone appeared soon afterward. The two squadrons united on the coasts of the Morea, and at the wish of the empress the chief command was taken by Count Alexis Orlov, who, although not deficient in personal courage, does not seem to have possessed any special qualifications as an admiral. He came from Italy with his brother. The object of the fleet was to divert the Turkish troops by a blockade of the Morea, since an insurrection on the part of the Greeks against their Ottoman oppressors had long been in contemplation. The Russians easily took possession of Navarino and Modon. The Mainotes were the first to arm themselves, and their example was quickly followed by others.

To subdue the Greeks and to drive away the Russians, the

1770

sultan sent forces to the Morea and got ready his fleet. The Capudan Pasha Hosameddin appeared on the coasts of the Morea, and at Napoli di Romani was met by the squadron of Elphinstone. The Russians bravely attacked him in spite of his superior forces, but the Turkish commander, declining a decisive engagement, sailed to the coasts of Asia Minor with a view of there reinforcing his fleet with some vessels which had come from Constantinople. As soon as Count Orlov ascertained that the Turks had made their appearance in the waters of the archipelago he hoisted his flag, and set off in pursuit of the capudan pasha. He did not have to wait long.

The Turkish fleet, which was almost twice as large as that of the Russian admiral, took up a strong position in the Bay of Smyrna and was drawn up in the form of a crescent under the shelter of the coast batteries. Here Orlov attacked. In front was Spiridov, in the center the count himself, and in the rear Elphinstone. The capudan pasha had, shortly before the battle commenced, handed over the command of the fleet to his brave comrade Hassan; he himself went on shore. The battle was sharp, and keenly contested on both sides; the ships, stationed at the distance of a pistol-shot from each other, were in many cases blown up, and the crews were burned or drowned. The hero of this sanguinary battle was Admiral Spiridov. After a stubborn fight with three Turkish vessels, he grappled with Hassan himself, and both their vessels were blown up; the respective admirals, however, having the good fortune to escape in time. The panic-stricken Turkish sailors hastened to shelter under the batteries in the port of Tchesmé.

Orlov lost no time in completing the discomfiture of the enemy; he blocked the entrance to the bay and ordered Captain Greig, a Scotchman in the Russian service, to fall upon the enemy with a separate detachment of the fleet. Greig with great gallantry hurried into the bay and succeeded in silencing the Turkish batteries and burning some of the vessels. Two fire-ships, under the command respectively of the Russian Ilyin and the Englishman Dugdale, were navigated into the midst of the Turkish fleet and there left to work havoc. Similar tactics were at a later date employed successfully during the Greek war for independence by Constantine Canaris. In the course of six hours the whole of the Ottoman fleet was destroyed. These achievements, however, were,

as we shall see, but anticipations of Navarino and Sinope. Almost a hundred Turkish vessels were destroyed on this occasion; one vessel which escaped destruction fell into the hands of the Russians. It is interesting to observe how many Englishmen participated in this engagement.

The news of the annihilation of their fleet threw the Turkish Government into consternation. Mustapha, the sultan, trembled for his capital, fearing that the Russians would now force the passage of the Dardanelles, the fact being that their fortifications were in a deplorable condition. Orlov, however, did not know how to make use of his opportunity. The French agent, Baron de Tott, who was in the Turkish service, repaired the forts of the Dardanelles and furnished them with artillery. He also fortified Constantinople, so that when the Russian admiral, after taking Mitylene and Lemnos—two very useless performances—resolved to go into the bay, he met with a warm reception from the Turks and lost many of his ships.

Taking advantage, however, of the discomfiture of the Turks, the Greeks and Slavs who were under her dominion rose, and the Pasha of Egypt also endeavored to get rid of the Turkish suzerainty. Almost all the Turkish ports on the left bank of the Danube submitted to the Russian arms. Prince Repnin obtained possession of Ismail, Kilia, and Akerman, Count Panin of Bender, and immediately afterward Braila, Bucharest, and Giurgevo surrendered. The Russians, moreover, induced the Crimean Tatars to declare themselves independent.

After renewed successes of Rumiantsov on the Danube, the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, so-called from a village near Silistria, was signed on July 22, 1774. Its terms were as follows: (1) Turkey agreed to recognize the independence of the Tatar khans. This quasi-independence was only to serve as a preliminary to the annexation of the country by Russia. (2) Azov, Kertch, Yenikale, and Kinburn were to be ceded to Russia. Azov, so often contested in the old days, seized temporarily by the Cossacks in the time of the Tsar Alexis, then conquered and afterward lost by Peter, was now to be finally annexed. At the present time, in spite of its geographical position, it has lost its strategic importance and has been reduced to insignificance by its flourishing neighbor Rostov on the Don. (3) Russian merchant ships were to have a free right of navigation from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean.

(4) Russian subjects in the Turkish territories were to have all the privileges which the French and other more favored nations enjoyed. (5) The Greeks, Slavs, Moldavians, and Wallachians in the Turkish territories were not to be molested. This, however, was but a vague clause, and virtually abandoned them to the vengeance of the Turks. The Russian attempt to free the rayas, though noble in itself, had not been successful. (6) The Turks were to pay the Russians 4,500,000 rubles as an indemnity for the expenses which they had incurred. (7) By the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji the right of interference on behalf of the subjects of the Porte attached to the Greek Church was conceded to Russia.

We now come to speak of the legislative and constitutional reforms effected by Catherine, for this able woman was to leave her name stamped upon Russian history in many directions.

Catherine had familiarized herself with the writings of Montesquieu, Blackstone, and Beccaria. In 1766 appeared the Manifestu of Instruction (nakaz) given to the commission of jurists to whom she intrusted the duty of drawing up a new code. This commission was opened by Catherine in person in 1767. The previous Russian codes were the Russkaya Pravda of Yaroslav in the twelfth century; the Sudebniks (Law-books) of Ivan III. and IV.; and the Ulozhenie (ordinance) of Alexis in 1649, memorable among other things for being the first code by which the peasant was bound to the soil.

The position of the nobles in their relation to the sovereign was definitely fixed by Catherine, who had a high opinion of the importance to a country of its nobility, they being as it were the bulwark of the throne. She, moreover, revived the popular decree of Peter III. which provided that the nobility should not be constrained to enter the government service. In 1775 she gave a charter to the nobility which in regard to the strength which it added to their power over the serfs, might almost be said to resemble the statute of Nieszawa in the time of Casimir IV. of Poland. But above all these concessions to the nobility, and indeed in the very forefront of the code, was the assertion of the supreme autocratic authority of the sovereign. This principle was affirmed in the most emphatic manner; at the same time principles of the most magnanimous and enlightened kind were enunciated. "The nation is not made for the sovereign, but the sovereign for the nation. Equality consists in the citizens being obliged to obey the law only.

Liberty is the right of doing everything which is not forbidden by the law."

Catherine did a great deal to improve the condition of the burgher or middle classes, who before her time had been treated almost as on the same level as serfs. Many new towns were built, and the population of the country increased in a remarkable degree. Everywhere factories were erected for new industries.

With regard to the serfs their position cannot be said to have been improved. The very independence of action allowed to the nobility in some points made it more easy for them to maltreat their peasants without interference by the crown. Catherine, however, sometimes was able to interpose with effect, as in the case of the "Soltichika," so-called from a lady of the aristocratic and wealthy family of the Soltikovs. This cruel woman had practically tortured to death some of her female serfs, and was justly sentenced to imprisonment for life. It is true that Catherine has been charged with having drifted far away from her liberal ideas toward the close of her reign. What may have been the reason for this change we shall consider shortly.

Catherine had spoken and written in a sentimental way about the serfs. As early as 1776 she had propounded to a society which she had formed questions as to the proper position of the laborer with reference to the land which he had cultivated; and she seems at one time to have really nurtured ideas favorable to the emancipation of the serfs. But gradually she grew timid, and more particularly after the revolt of Pugatchev. In 1775, when writing to Prince Viazemski, she again urged that something should be done for the serfs, adding significantly, "they will sooner or later take the liberty which we refuse them," thus anticipating the sentiments of Radistchev. Count Bludov professed to have seen in Catherine's hands a duly drawn-up ukase which provided that peasants born after 1785 should be free. But no such ukase was ever promulgated. Among the papers of the empress found after her death there is one dealing with the nine hundred thousand serfs who had been emancipated when the ecclesiastical estates were confiscated. The original of this, which has been published by the Russian Historical Society, is covered with annotations in the handwriting of Catherine, which show what labor she had spent upon it. The only definite plan she had seems to have been to apply municipal institutions to a rural population, which was perhaps not very likely

to succeed. But in all these matters she had the nobility, with whose privileges she was interfering, arrayed against her.

In the meantime the next important event of her reign which calls for mention is the annexation of the Crimea, which already had been for some years a quasi-independent state under the protection of Russia. Since Russia had held the protectorate of the Crimea there had been a succession of khans and the country was now in a very unsettled state. In 1783, however, Potemkin took possession, whereupon the khan resigned and was to receive a pension of 200,000 rubles annually. He retired, however, to Moldavia, then under Ottoman rule, whence he was carried off to Rhodes and there strangled by the Turks. But before Potemkin had time to consolidate his conquests, an insurrection broke out among the Tatars, who were unwilling to become the subjects of Russia, and were far more in sympathy with their Turkish co-religionists. The outbreak was suppressed with great severity, and Potemkin busied himself more than ever with his favorite plan of the humiliation of Turkey. The empress appointed him governor general of the Crimea as well as president of the military college, and he displayed considerable ability in the changes which he introduced into the army. He reorganized the troops and made some very successful modifications in their dress. As a reward for the annexation of the Crimea, Catherine made him field-marshal and prince of the Tauris.

This was a most important addition to Russian territory. A Scot named Mackenzie had pointed out the advantageous situation of the bay where Sebastopol was afterward built. The Turkish name of the place was Akhtiar; and the capital during the occupation of the country by the khans had been Bakchiserai, where the picturesque palace may still be seen. Its beauties have been sung by two of the foremost Slavonic poets, Pushkin and Mickiewicz. Catherine now determined to visit the new territory which had been acquired for her in a large measure by the efforts of her brilliant but fantastic favorite. She started on January 14, 1787, accompanied by a gorgeous retinue. She had originally intended to take the Grand Dukes Alexander and Constantine with her, but they had to be left behind on account of illness. They seem to have been too young to bear the fatigues of the journey. On the confines of each Russian government the empress was received by each governor general in turn. Potemkin met her at the ancient and pic-

turesque town of Kiev, and here she embarked on the stately Dnieper, escorted by a fleet of fifty galleys. All kinds of droll stories are told of the way in which Potemkin had made the newly acquired territories through which she passed appear populous and flourishing. Some of these anecdotes are too good to be true, and indeed no country has been the subject of so many ill-founded stories as Russia. At Kudak, the ancient capital of the Zaporogian Cossacks, she was met by Joseph II. of Austria; and at Kherson she was confronted by the inscription: "This is the way to Byzantium." The limit of her journey was reached at Stary Krim; thence she slowly made her way back to Moscow, where Joseph took leave of her, and she then proceeded to St. Petersburg.

Owing to the provocations which they were continually receiving, the Turks proclaimed war against Russia in 1787, and, according to the barbarous custom then prevailing, Bulgakov, the Russian ambassador, was sent as a prisoner to the castle of the Seven Towers, a prison too well known for the horrors it has witnessed. Great preparations were made for war on both sides. Potemkin, as commander in chief of the Russian forces, had under his orders the old Marshal Rumiantsov and the already famous Suvarov. He formed his army into two main divisions: one, the army of the Ukraine, was placed under the command of Rumiantsov and was to begin hostilities in Moldavia; the other was commanded by Potemkin in person, and marched in the direction of Ochakov. The Turks were very anxious to recover Kinburn, which is situated exactly opposite to Ochakov, from which place it is separated by the mouth of the Dnieper. But their attack was repulsed with great loss by Suvarov, who was himself wounded in the conflict. Potemkin spent the winter of 1787 at Elisavetgrad. Here he conceived the curious idea of raising a regiment of Jews, which he humorously styled Israelovski.

Potemkin made all preparations for the siege of Ochakov. A Turkish fleet was lying under its walls, but was dispersed by the Russian fleet under the command of the Prince of Nassau-Siegen and Commodore Paul Jones. This extraordinary Scotchman had turned filibuster, changed his name from John Paul, and had successively entered the American and Russian services. Ochakov was eventually taken under circumstances in which no quarter was given or expected. Eight thousand three hundred Ottomans are said to have been killed during the siege.

1788-1791

At the close of the campaign Potemkin, having stationed his infantry in Ochakov and Moldavia, and sent his cavalry beyond the Dniester, hastened back to St. Petersburg. Catherine had resolved to give her favorite a triumphant reception, and ordered the road by which he was to arrive to be illuminated for a distance of six miles. St. Petersburg now became for some time engrossed with the long series of festivities given in honor of Potemkin.

In the spring of the next year the war with Turkey was resumed, and engagements took place on the banks of the Pruth. On July 21, 1789, the Turks were repulsed by Suvarov at Fokshani in what is now Rumania; and Repnin defeated Hassan Pasha, the seraskier, who shut himself up in Ismail. Suvarov had greatly distinguished himself at Rimnik, and as a reward Catherine had made him a count, with the title of Rimnikski, in 1789. He now advanced upon Ismail. Kamenski, another Russian general, laid Galatz in ashes, and Bender was also taken. Ismail was captured at the beginning of 1790; 35,000 Turks are said to have been slain in this battle, which is familiar to many from the vigorous description of Byron. Thus ended the campaign of 1790.

The career of Potemkin was now soon to close. After the campaign of 1790 he arranged the winter quarters of his troops, and repaired to Jassy. He then again made a triumphal expedition to St. Petersburg. The road was again illuminated for his journey, and it was on the occasion of this last visit that he gave his magnificent entertainment to the empress in his Taurian palace. Reading the details of this gorgeous banquet, we seem to have before us a page of the "Thousand and One Nights." The company began to assemble at six o'clock, and when the carriage of the empress approached, meat, liquor, and clothes were abundantly distributed among the mob standing at the doors. The prince handed the empress from her carriage. He wore a scarlet coat, over which hung a long cloak of gold lace, ornamented with precious stones. His dress was loaded with diamonds, and his hat was so heavy with them that it had to be carried by an aide-de-camp. On the entrance of Catherine a symphony was played by more than three hundred musicians. She took her seat upon a throne, surrounded with transparencies with appropriate mottoes. The Grand Dukes Alexander and Constantine at the head of the most beautiful young persons of the court now danced a ballet. This was followed by several other ballets, and every room of the palace was brilliantly

lighted. Six hundred guests were present at the banquet. Potemkin stood behind the chair of the empress, and did not sit down till she had repeatedly ordered him to do so. The tables were loaded with gold plate, and the most exquisite viands and wines.

Contrary to her general rule, the empress stayed till one o'clock in the morning: she seemed loath to disturb the universal pleasure. As she retired, numerous voices accompanied by suitable instruments chanted a hymn in her praise. She was much affected, and turned to Potemkin to express her satisfaction. The latter fell on his knees and clasped her hand with tears in his eyes.

Meanwhile, in his absence, Prince Repnin in the beginning of 1791 opened the new campaign with some brilliant maneuvers. The Turks grew anxious for peace, and the preliminaries were signed while Potemkin still delayed at St. Petersburg. The great man whom all Russia obeyed was beginning to show signs of premature decay. However, he managed, though broken in health, to get to the south again; and on his arrival at Jassy sent for Repnin and upbraided him for having dared to fight and make peace during his absence. Repnin, however, boldly answered that the only person to whom he had to give account was his sovereign. Potemkin refused to pay attention to the admonitions of his physician, and ate salt meat and raw turnips as if by way of bravado, while he continued to ruin his constitution by the excessive use of wine and spirits. Finally he resolved to quit Jassy, as the place did not suit him, and attempted to get to Ochakov, the scene of his former triumphs. On the morning of October 13, 1791, at three o'clock he set out; but he had only traveled a few versts when the motion of the carriage became intolerable to him. He got out and lay upon a carpet, which was spread at the foot of a tree. Suddenly he became speechless, and could only press the hand of his niece, Countess Branicka, in whose arms he expired. He had only reached the age of fifty-two years.

Such was the end of this remarkable man, who, though he had undoubtedly considerable talent, is now remembered chiefly for his luxury and caprice. Catherine received the news of his death with great sorrow, and remained for some time in a state of melancholy. By Paul his memory was regarded with loathing. He was at first interred in the cathedral of Kherson, but his final resting-place is not known, as Paul caused the remains to be moved and thrown into a common pit.

1790-1792

Fortunately for Russia, hampered in so many ways, she was able to conclude a satisfactory peace with Turkey. Jassy was appointed as the place of meeting of the plenipotentiaries. Count Besborodko was sent to conduct the negotiations, and the treaty was concluded in January, 1792. The Turks agreed to carry out all the stipulations of the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji; to recognize the authority of Russia over the Crimea, and to cede to her, together with Ochakov, the country between the Boug and the Dniester.

Russia had also on hand a war with Sweden. The throne of the latter country was occupied by the fantastic Gustavus III., in whom some persons have seen a great statesman. Gustavus had very exaggerated ideas of his own dignity, and of the position to which he could raise Sweden. His assumption of almost autocratic power belongs, however, to the history of his own country. It was owing to the aggrandizement of Russia that his plans for the development of Sweden according to his own fashion were thwarted. He kept watching for his opportunity, and had even thought of attacking Russia during the revolt of Pugatchev. At that time the greater part of Russia's fighting power was occupied in the south, and if Gustavus had had the prudence to wait a little longer, the Russian fleet would also have sailed southward.

War having been declared, Greig, the Russian admiral, attacked the Swedish fleet under the command of the Duke of Sudermanland, off the island of Hogland. Each side lost a vessel, and the battle was on the whole indecisive, but the Swedish fleet was compelled to seek safety under the guns of Sveaborg, where they were blockaded by Greig during the remainder of the campaign. On land the king was also unsuccessful; his own nobles intrigued against him and even entered into secret correspondence with the Russians. When Gustavus returned to Stockholm he effected a *coup d'état,* by which he made himself more than ever absolute master of the country. Meanwhile, however, his nobles had concluded a truce with Russia, as a result of which the Swedish fleet no longer remained locked up at Sveaborg.

In 1790 the struggle was renewed chiefly in the Gulf of Finland. The Swedish fleet under the command of the Duke of Sudermanland succeeded in getting out to sea before the two Russian squadrons (of Revel and Kronstadt) could effect a union, and taking advantage of their superiority in numbers, made a bold

attack upon Revel, but without success. Having been defeated by Tchitchagov, the Russian admiral, the Swedish commander returned to Kronstadt with the intention of destroying the squadron lying there under the command of Admiral Kruze, thus clearing the road for Gustavus, with his fleet of galleys and troops to make a descent upon St. Petersburg. The brave Kruze, who had coöperated with Orlov and Spiridov in the waters of the archipelago, met the Swedes at the Island of Seskar, and a severe engagement took place. During the whole day, from dawn until late at night, the cannonade resounded at St. Petersburg, which was thrown into a state of consternation. Kruze succeeded in routing the Swedes and effecting a union with Tchitchagov, who on the death of Greig had taken over the chief command of the Russian fleet.

The Duke of Sudermanland returned to the Gulf of Viborg, where the king himself had remained. Tchitchagov, however, blocked the entrance of the bay, and thus shut the Swedes in. This continued for a whole month, and when the want of provisions and water came to be severely felt, the Russians, knowing their desperate condition, offered terms. But Gustavus, by a bold effort, broke through the Russian line and cut his way in heroic fashion to Sveaborg, at the cost of losing a third of his fleet. He was able, moreover, to take vengeance upon the Prince of Nassau-Siegen, one of the Russian admirals, who, while pursuing the flying Swedes, came on the flotilla of galleys at Rochensalm; here his fleet was partly wrecked on the rocks and partly driven ashore, the whole squadron being thrown into the greatest confusion. The Swedes thus encouraged, fell upon the bewildered Russians, captured many of their vessels, and took prisoners about 6000 men. The prince himself escaped with difficulty.

But Gustavus felt himself unable to prolong the struggle, and a treaty was accordingly concluded at Varela on the Kimmene, in the spring of 1790. All this blood had been shed for no purpose, and Gustavus had wasted the treasures of his poor kingdom without accomplishing anything. Matters between Sweden and Russia were to remain on the same footing as that on which they had been in the spring of 1788.

Foiled in his attempts upon Russia, Gustavus next conceived the idea of trying to restore the Bourbon family to the throne of France, and proposed to send a fleet to attack the French coast. He even seems to have thought himself competent to take the su-

preme command of the allied Austrian and Prussian forces against the French revolutionists. But the resources of Sweden were exhausted. A conspiracy against Gustavus was formed by some of the chief nobility, of which the directing spirit was a retired military officer named Ankerström. This man had received a personal injury from Gustavus, and in the end shot the king at a masked ball held in the opera house at Stockholm, March 16, 1792.

It remains to describe the final partition of unhappy Poland She had struggled on since the first partition in a state of great weakness. The European powers were partly apathetic and partly hostile. Frederick the Great, one of the most uncompromising enemies of the republic, died in 1786, and was succeeded by his nephew, Frederick William II., as unprincipled as his uncle, without possessing the latter's ability. In 1788 the celebrated four years' diet was opened, in which the Poles, by a series of judicious changes, endeavored to eliminate the incongruities and anachronisms of their constitution. Had these salutary measures been carried out, Poland might, perhaps, have raised her head once more. But her enemies were determined that nothing of the sort should be done. Russia protested against this constitution, sending 100,000 men into the country, and on June 8, 1792, the King of Prussia wrote to Stanislaus Poniatowski, letting it be seen very clearly that he intended to further the designs of Catherine. He also dispatched a body of troops, under General Möllendorf, who, on January 24, 1793, entered Thorn, and soon afterward seized Dantzic.

The diet appointed Stanislaus Poniatowski commander in chief of the forces, but he did not go into camp. Frederick William declared that Dantzic was a seat of Jacobinism. Thorn, the Palatinate of Posen, and other territories were then occupied. At the end of the same year a final constitutional struggle took place at Grodno. At the second partition Prussia was to acquire the remainder of great Poland, and the Russian boundary was advanced to the center of Lithuania and Volhynia. To carry this out the Russian troops occupied territory from Courland to Galicia. The Prussians now bombarded Warsaw with vigor, but without doing much damage to the city. The King of Poland was himself in command, though no one seems to have paid any attention to his authority. If we wish to get an idea of the state of affairs in the beleaguered city, we must read the memoirs of Kilinski, the

patriotic shoemaker. A supplementary volume of these memoirs, the manuscript of which has lately been discovered, was published at Cracow in 1899. The popular party got the power entirely into their hands, and hanged some of the nobles who were supposed to have betrayed the national interests at the diet of Grodno. In this ignominious way perished Bishop Kassakovski, the hetman Ozarovski, and others.

The heroic figure of Thaddeus Kosciuszko now comes upon the scene. He marched upon Warsaw and compelled the Prussians to raise the siege. It was at this time that Michael Poniatowski, the brother of the king, and primate of Poland, committed suicide. Thinking only of his own safety and that of his connections, he entered into treasonable correspondence with the Prussian king. In the hope that he and his family would be rescued from the turbulence of the inhabitants, he sent a trusted messenger through the Polish lines, but the manner of the man attracted suspicion; he was searched, and the letter of the primate was found upon him. The matter was at once brought to the knowledge of the king. According to a diarist, Stanislaus Poniatowski sent to his brother a packet containing poison. In the accompanying letter the king told him frankly that if he was guilty he had better take the poison, as there was no other way of escape. No sooner had the primate finished reading the letter than he was given to understand that a mob was assembling in the courtyard of his palace, and a gallows was being prepared for him. The unfortunate man did not hesitate a moment, but swallowed the poison, which was so powerful that it took effect in half an hour. In spite of the manner of his death the primate was accorded a pompous funeral at which all the clergy of the diocese were present. For some days after the event, we are told, the unhappy king was a prey to the deepest melancholy. The efforts of the noble Kosciuszko to stop the dismemberment of his country for a second time were fruitless. He was defeated by Suvarov at the battle of Macieiowice, near Warsaw (October, 1794). Here he received a severe wound, was carried from the battle half dead and sent into Russia as a prisoner. The Poles, disheartened at his loss, endeavored to enter into negotiations with the Russians, but the latter would hear of nothing short of unconditional surrender. Still there was as yet no thought of abandoning their country, and it is well known that to the day of his death Kosciuszko denied having uttered the words "*Finis Poloniæ.*"

The Poles resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity, and gave the command of the army to General Zajaczek.

Suvarov then advanced upon Warsaw and on November 2 commenced the storming of the suburb Praga, which is connected with the city by a bridge over the Vistula. Here a frightful massacre occurred, thousands of Poles being slaughtered or drowned in the river. According to some accounts Suvarov did what he could to stop the bloodshed and tried to prevent the Russian soldiers from going upon the bridge at all, but when he saw the fury of his soldiers, upon whom the very women fired and threw stones from the windows, he ordered the bridge to be broken, and thus, it is said, saved Warsaw from the fate of Praga. It is even said that out of gratitude for this the magistracy of Warsaw, in the name of the citizens, presented him with a golden snuff-box set in precious stones, bearing upon it the arms of the city (a siren with a sword), and underneath the significant inscription "Warszawa zbawcy swemu," (Warsaw to her deliverer), and the date November 4, 1794, *i. e.*, that of the storming of Praga. This story has of late been repeated in the Russian newspapers apropos of the hundredth anniversary of the death of Suvarov. In the midst of all these horrors Stanislaus sent a letter to the triumphant general imploring him to grant an armistice; but Suvarov would listen to nothing but surrender. He promised, however, that the king should be confirmed in his authority, and that the lives and property of the inhabitants should be respected. The Polish envoy had found the general with all his usual Spartan simplicity, seated on a block of wood with another block of wood as his table. Finally the city capitulated on the eighth, and on the following day Suvarov paid a visit to King Stanislaus. The Polish army was disbanded and the third partition of the country was settled.

Austria seized Cracow, together with all the country lying between the Pilica, the Vistula, and Boug. Prussia took Warsaw, with the territory as far as the Niemen; the rest was handed over to Russia. Stanislaus Poniatowski resigned the crown at Grodno on April 25, 1795, and went to live at St. Petersburg. He died three years later and was buried in the Roman Catholic church on the Nevski Prospekt. At first Paul had treated him kindly, but afterward with much hauteur and neglect.

In 1795 Courland was definitely united to Russia. It had been a dependency ever since the marriage of Anne, the niece of

Peter the Great, with the duke. Later, Biron had been made duke, and it had been again handed over to him when he returned from exile. He had been succeeded by his son Peter, who was regarded by the Courlanders with contempt. They now voluntarily became Russian subjects, and have remained Russian ever since.

On November 17, 1796, Catherine expired. Her reign may be considered the second greatest in the annals of Russia. The constitutional changes introduced by her have been already mentioned. Her foreign policy, likewise, had been eminently successful. The Turks and Swedes had been humiliated, and unhappy Poland, the hereditary enemy of Russia, was now divided and powerless. The gain in territory had been immense, especially in the west and south. The rich alluvial plains of Volhynia and Podolia, known as "the district of the black lands," had been added to the empire. The frontier was now protected on every side, save only as regards Finland, which was annexed later by Alexander I. Russia was divided into governments, which were again subdivided into districts or arrondissements.

Something like a national literature now came into being; though Michael Lomonosov, the father of the modern style, can hardly be considered as belonging to her reign, seeing that he died in 1765. A galaxy of authors enjoyed the patronage of the court, some of whom, however, are now almost forgotten. It was necessary in those days for a poet to seek court favor, for the reading public was too small to enable a writer to live by his works.

Michael Kheraskov (1733-1807) wrote two epics: the "Rossiada," in twelve books, and "Vladimir," in eight. These productions belong to the school of the Henriade. Perhaps at a future day their chief claim to be remembered will be based on the fact that it was they which first aroused in Turguniev when a boy a love for the language and literature of his country. The poems of Kheraskov were read to him by one of the family serfs.

Bogdanovich (1743-1803) has left a graceful poem entitled "Dushenka," which is a Russian adaptation of the story of Cupid and Psyche. Khemnitzer is important as being the first Russian fabulist and as having developed a species of literature which is peculiarly adapted to the Russian character. He was the precursor of the witty Krilov. In Sumarokov, who died in 1777, Russia had a playwright of considerable merit. At first a mere imitator of the French, and, indeed, he never got out of the heresy of the rhymed

tragedy, he afterward took to national subjects, and saw the highly dramatic nature of the story of the False Dmitri, as, indeed, did Lope de Vega in a contemporary Spanish play.

But the laureate of the court of Catherine was Derzhavin (1743-1816), a man who attempted many kinds of composition. He wrote a grandiose ode on the taking of Ismail by Suvarov; another entitled "The Waterfall," and a poem addressed to the Almighty. He handles his native language with considerable dexterity, although somewhat bombastic, rhetorical poetry being at that time greatly in vogue throughout Europe. Derzhavin imitated such works as the "Night Thoughts" of Young, of which a Russian version had appeared.

It is an interesting fact that English literature began almost at once to influence the Russian Petrine renaissance, as we may call it, and has continued to do so to the present day. Translations of Sterne, Smollett, and Fielding appeared, and Shakespeare began to be dimly known. Indeed Catherine herself wrote an adaptation of the "Merry Wives of Windsor."

Genuine Russian comedy appeared in the writings of Von Visin (1744-1792). In spite of his German name the author was a thorough Russian. One of his ancestors had been taken prisoner in the wars waged by Ivan the Terrible in the Baltic provinces. The two plays of Von Visin are the "Brigadier" and the "Minor." It is upon the latter that his fame chiefly rests. He has drawn a vigorous picture of the coarseness and ignorance of Russian provincial life. Besides these comedies we have some very interesting letters of Von Visin describing the condition of France just before the Revolution.

As already said, Catherine has been charged by some writers with having in the latter part of her reign abandoned her enthusiasm for liberty. The charge seems to a certain extent just, and the cause must be sought in the universal terror aroused by the excesses of the French Revolution.

The persecution of Novikov was one result of this change in Catherine's views. He was one of the most prominent literary men of the day, having been born in the village of Tikhvinka, near Moscow, in 1744. After serving for some time in the army he retired and took to literary pursuits. He was indefatigable in his efforts to educate the people, and published a series of valuable works, such as the "Old Russian Library," the "Dictionary of

Russian Authors," and various translations of foreign works. He was, in fact, a pioneer in the cause of national education, his object being to provide the Russian public with wholesome books.

These were the great days of periodicals, the example for which had been given by Addison in the " Spectator." These periodicals became very popular in Russia, and one of the best-known editors of them was Novikov. Even Catherine herself condescended occasionally to write in them. At first Novikov published a journal called the *Drone,* in opposition to the *Busy Bee* of Sumarokov, and afterward another named *The Painter.* Just as Addison playfully touched upon the foibles and shortcomings of English society, so did Novikov in the essays which he published in his periodicals. Thus we have letters of a father and mother to their son, and of an uncle to his niece. Many of these are very amusing and show clearly enough the faults of contemporary Russian society. In this respect Novikov became an admirable coöperator with the spirited comedies of Von Visin. It was, however, not until he had taken up his abode at Moscow, toward the end of the seventies, that Novikov began his great efforts for the intellectual and social progress of his countrymen.

The journal, *Moscow News,* had about six hundred subscribers until Novikov became the editor. In ten years the number had increased to four thousand—a proof that the Russian public was eager for literature. Soon after this Novikov and his friend Gamaleya founded a learned society, with which another friend, Professor Schwarz, also coöperated. The object of it was to improve education in the country. Funds were procured from those who sympathized with the plan, and poor students were supported, who in their turn became teachers and spread education. Not contented with this, they also began to establish libraries in various towns and to sell books at a low price. They soon inspired such confidence that many outsiders began to invest their capital in the undertaking. Novikov, however, in consequence of his liberal opinions, got into trouble with the government, which was increased by the fact that he was mixed up with some secret societies, to all of which Catherine had a great objection. As a result of this, the courageous litterateur was imprisoned in the fortress of Schlüsselburg, where he remained until the death of the empress. When Paul came to the throne he at once ordered him to be released and wished him to come to court. But Novikov, weighed down with

1795-1796

years and troubles, retired to his estate at Tikhvinka and there died in 1818.

Under the régime of Catherine an entirely new system of education was introduced, chiefly through the labors of Betski and Zavadovski. Schools were established for all classes of society. The St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, in spite of many unfavorable circumstances into which it was forced by the influence of ignorant people, labored to considerable advantage. The brothers Bernoulli, Delisle, and especially the famous Euler, rendered great services to mathematics. Doyer, one of the chief philologists of his time, was the first critical writer on Russian history, a branch of study which has been greatly developed in Russia. The Russians are fortunate in having a series of chronicles in the vernacular extending from the time of Nestor, who was born about 1056 and died about 1114, to the days of Alexis, the father of Peter the Great.

We have no space to discuss these lietopisi of the various cities and monasteries written chiefly by monks in their cloisters; but it will not be inappropriate here to say something about the rise of historical study which may be said to date from the days of Catherine. The old chronicles are for the most part dry, always excepting that called after Nestor, which contains many picturesque sagas. They furnish, however, very valuable matter. The attempt of Basil Tatistchev to compile a national history has already been mentioned. Lomonosov also wrote a short Russian history, but of no particular merit. The first Russian historian was Nicholas Karamzin, who, although he wrote some works in the reign of Catherine, produced his *opus magnum* in that of Alexander, where we propose to deal with him at greater length.

If the treatment of Novikov by Catherine was harsh, still more severe was her behavior toward Radistchev, a Russian official. The latter had been educated at the University of Leipsic, where he had accepted liberal ideas. In a work entitled "A Journey to Moscow," the idea of which is taken from Sterne's "Sentimental Journey," he described some of the more distressing results of serfdom and told some disagreeable truths which were by no means acceptable to those in authority. For this he was banished to Siberia, but after a time was allowed to return.

The obnoxious book appeared in 1790, and was printed by Radistchev at his own press. It managed to pass the censor, and Radistchev, by sending copies to his friends and acquaintances,

placed many of them and more particularly Derzhavin in a very awkward position. The poet, however, got out of the predicament by informing against the book. Khrapovitski, the secretary of the empress, writes that Catherine, speaking of Radistchev's book, had said: "It is a spreading of the French plague; the author is a martinist, he is a rebel worse than Pugatchev, he praises Franklin." The empress ordered the writer to be arrested and tried. She wrote to General Bruce that "The Journey to Moscow" was a book filled with the most prejudicial ideas calculated to disturb the public peace, weakening that due respect which ought to be felt for the authorities, aiming at producing among the people discontent with the government, and finally, containing insulting expressions against the imperial dignity and power. Radistchev was arrested and brought before Bruce, after which he was thrown into chains and imprisoned in a fortress. He was ultimately sent to Siberia for ten years, but after little more than a year was allowed to return to his country seat. He did not, however, visit the capital again until the reign of Alexander I., who restored to him his rank and orders and put him into a commission for codifying the laws. Count Peter Vasilievich Zavadovski, who was the president of this commission, did not appreciate the ideas of Radistchev, which the latter was too fond of ventilating. Radistchev had drawn up the plan of a civil code which he proposed to lay before the commission; but before this could be done he had a misunderstanding with Count Zavadovski, in which the president remarked, among other things, that the opinions of Radistchev would bring him no good, and even introduced the fatal word Siberia. Radistchev was thunderstruck by this language, and said to his children: "What, will they send me again to Siberia?" In his project of legal reform Radistchev proposed to introduce some very radical changes, such as the equality of all before the law, public trial, freedom of religious opinion, and of the press. On the morning of September 23, 1802, in an attack of hypochondria, he committed suicide by taking poison.

Radistchev has a great reputation among his countrymen at the present day as one of the apostles of the emancipation of the serf. In modern times "The Journey to Moscow" has become a rarity, although copies are occasionally to be found in old book shops.

Radistchev's book was certainly a very bold one for the time when it was written. He justifies the peasants who have assas-

sinated a cruel master, just as some years later the serfs of Araktcheiev actually murdered the housekeeper who had tyrannized over them. When Radistchev speaks of slavery he apostrophizes it as an Asiatic barbarism which weighs upon the Slavs. Who, he asks, undergoes this cruel bondage? It is he who tills the soil, who provides us with the means of satisfying our hunger. Who, adds he, has a right to the soil? Surely he who cultivates it. And can we call that state happy in which two-thirds of the citizens are deprived of their rights? Do we call that a happy country where a hundred proud citizens enjoy every luxury and a thousand have neither the food which is necessary to sustain existence nor shelter from the heat and cold? But Radistchev goes even further, and we cannot wonder at the government becoming alarmed. He in fact prophesied a social war. "The danger," he says, "is gradually coming. It already hangs over our heads. Already Time is getting ready his scythe. If only a friend of humanity should come to awaken the poor wretches, he would precipitate the stroke."

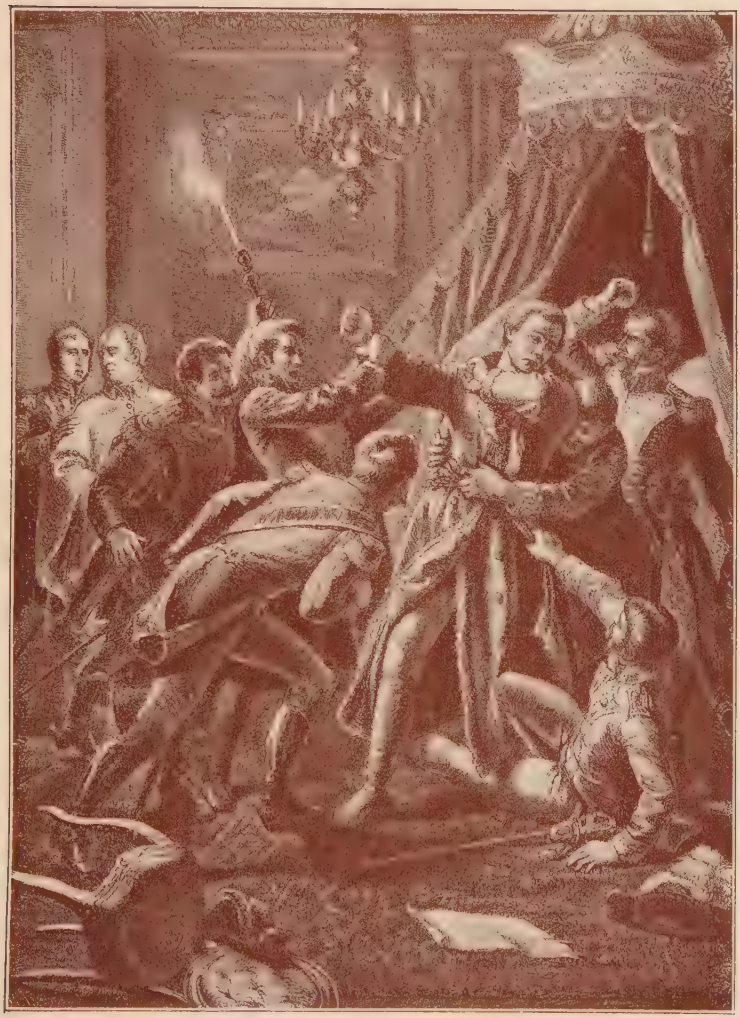
Catherine had kept up a learned correspondence with Voltaire, Diderot, and the Abbé Grimm, and had written as a woman fully abreast of the convictions of her century. She entered into correspondence with Voltaire as early as 1763, but was not successful in persuading him to come to Russia. He had grown rather shy of being the guest of foreign potentates after his experiences with Frederick the Great. Diderot was then editing the "*Encyclopédie,*" which was officially suppressed, but still continued to be printed in Paris, and had many subscribers in Russia. Within three months of her accession Catherine had commissioned Ivan Shuvalov to ask D'Alembert to undertake the tuition of the grand duke, and to invite Diderot to finish the "*Encyclopédie*" in Russia. But neither of these accepted the offer. D'Alembert alleged as an excuse that he had bad health; and Diderot, to whom Voltaire communicated the proposals of Shuvalov, also refused to go. Catherine, however, did not allow herself to be offended by this, and waited for a more convenient opportunity of renewing her overtures. Soon afterward Diderot, who was poor, for the honorarium paid him by the publishers of the "*Encyclopédie*" was but trifling, being anxious to provide for the future of his only child—a daughter—meditated selling his library. The news of this was conveyed to Catherine by some Russians residing at Paris. She at once offered to purchase the library on terms very favorable for the phi-

losopher. She engaged to pay him sixteen thousand livres ($3200), instead of the fifteen thousand which he asked, but the library was to remain with Diderot until the empress required it to be sent. She also offered him an annual pension. When the news of this munificence spread, the felicitations of Diderot and compliments to the empress were boundless. Catherine replied that it would have been cruel to separate a learned man from his books. "I have often," she added, with delicate flattery, "had occasion to fear that my own would be taken from me," alluding to the espionage kept over her and her studies during the reign of Elizabeth.

Diderot came to Russia in 1773; he seems to have surprised the courtiers by his brusque manners, and the scant ceremony with which he treated the empress. Many lively discussions took place between them. On one occasion Catherine closed a conversation which was becoming disagreeable to her in the following way:

"Monsieur Diderot, I have heard with the greatest pleasure all with which your brilliant wit has inspired you, but out of those grand principles of yours, which I understand very well, good works could be manufactured, but little of a practical purpose. In your plans of reform you forget the difference between our two positions: you only work upon paper, which allows everything; it is uniform, simple, and opposes no obstacle, either to your imagination or your pen; while I, poor empress, must work on human skin, which in a very different way is irritable and ticklish." "After that," added Catherine, in repeating the story, "we discussed no other subjects but morals and literature."

The dramatic circumstances of the overthrow and death of Peter III. soon gave rise to the publication of pamphlets. In 1763 appeared "*Memoires pour servir à l'histoire de Pierre III.,*" by Ange Goudar, published at Frankfort, and "*Anecdotes russes ou lettre d'un officier allemand à un gentilhomme Livonien par Schwan de la Marcke,*" London, 1764. Voltaire had taken pains to pass very lightly over the occurrence in the thirty-second chapter of his "*Précis du regne de Louis XV.*" (1768). According to him Peter III. "pursued, captured, and put into prison, consoled himself by drinking punch for eight days at a stretch, at the end of which he died." In this Voltaire allowed himself to adopt the official version, but in one of his letters to Madame du Deffand, he wrote: "I know that she is reproached with some trifles with regard to her husband, but these are family affairs with which I do not



THE MURDER OF THE EMPEROR PAUL I AT ST. PETERSBURG

Drawing by H. Merte

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meddle, and besides, it is not a bad thing to have committed a fault for which one must atone. This forces a person to make great efforts to arouse public esteem and admiration, and assuredly her detestable husband had never done any of the great things which my Catherine is doing every day" (May, 1787).

We have already alluded to the literary works of Catherine, her comedies, translations, and essays contributed to the literary journals of Novikov and others. Her favorite reading seems to have been the works of the French encyclopedists. With Bayle she was very familiar, as also with Voltaire. The historian who gave her most pleasure appears to have been Tacitus. The library of Diderot, which on his death was transferred to the Hermitage, was afterward joined by that of Voltaire. The latter was purchased from Madame Denis through the instrumentality of Grimm, although the grand-nephews of the philosopher were displeased at the deportation of the books. The collection consists of about 7000 volumes, most of them bound in red morocco, and every volume has notes in the handwriting of Voltaire. The collection was afterward still further increased by the transference of the Zaluski library from Warsaw to St. Petersburg.

We cannot wonder when we bear in mind the splendor of the reign of Catherine that she made such an impression upon her age, and especially on her own subjects. It is interesting to observe how fond the great novelist Turgeniev is of introducing in his writings stories of this time and characters that at an earlier period in the century were survivals of the great epoch. In parts of the "Sportsman's Sketches" and "Virgin Soil" are to be found several such, and in the clever tale entitled "Some Old Portraits" we have a vigorous picture of a husband and his wife of the old school.

Chapter X

THE REIGN OF PAUL. 1769-1801

PAUL, who now succeeded to the Russian throne, was in his forty-second year, having been born in 1754. He was short in stature, of extreme ugliness, and had become bald at an early age. During the reign of his mother he had lived in retirement, chiefly at Gatschina. Catherine had always been careful to keep him in the background, and the courtiers had not failed to imitate their mistress. Many of them, however, paid dearly for their conduct when he came to the throne. The ill-treatment which he had received had no doubt contributed a great deal to the souring of his temper. He was subject to strange outbursts of wrath, amounting almost to insanity. When, however, the fit was over, he would frankly ask forgiveness and seek to make reparation. Owing to his caprices, those who were included in his immediate circle were in great dread of him, and became frequently victims of his injustice. On the other hand, some strange stories are told of his good humor. Thus, in the memoirs of Sablukov we are told that Sablukov, who was on duty at the palace, had amused himself in his monotonous occupation by drawing caricatures. While thus engaged on one occasion the emperor came suddenly upon him and asked to see his sketchbook. Sablukov, who was almost in a state of collapse, was obliged to hand it over. Paul turned over the pages, and remarked in a laughing manner: "You have, no doubt, got a likeness of me!" Sablukov, horrified, saw the emperor come upon the caricature which he had drawn of him, and anticipated some very disagreeable results. There was Paul, indeed, with a pug-nose and many other unwelcome exaggerations. The emperor, however, only burst into a fit of laughter, and said that it was certainly an excellent likeness.

Madame Smirnov, in her memoirs, speaks of having conversed with one of the ladies-in-waiting of the Empress Maria, Paul's wife, and heard from her how the poor emperor in his mental alienation, like a second Caligula, paced the corridors of the palace at night. They tried narcotics to cure his sleeplessness, but their only effect

1769

was to produce violent headaches. All writers, however, bear testimony to his being an affectionate husband and father.

As a consequence of his existence, Catherine's position as sovereign had been ambiguous in the highest degree. There even seems reason to believe that she had executed a will in favor of Alexander, the eldest son of Paul, thus completely passing the latter over in the succession. Kurakin, a favorite of Paul's, is said to have taken advantage of the confusion which occurred at the death of Catherine to obtain access to her apartments, there sought the will, and destroyed it.

As great a *révolution de palais* was now to be witnessed as on previous occasions when Russian sovereigns had been deposed. Officials of every kind who had been treated with neglect hastened to the court. Paul's first act was to do honor to the memory of his father, whose neglected remains had not rested with those of other tsars in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul at St. Petersburg—the church whose tall spire dominates the neighborhood. He had been hastily interred in the monastery of St. Alexander Nevski. The body was now exhumed. On the coffin being opened, it is said that nothing was found but the boots and a few pieces of bone. The coffin was now borne in magnificent procession, together with that of Catherine, and they were buried side by side in Petropavlovski church. Behind the coffins walked Alexis Orlov and the other supposed assassins of Peter, and when the ceremony was over they were banished forever from the empire. This historic procession has been minutely described by Admiral Shishkov, who was an eye-witness and whose memoirs give much information about this period. All the old courtiers who had been loyal to Peter and had in consequence been under a cloud during the late reign were now welcomed by the tsar and promoted to various offices, while the favorites of Catherine were disgraced. Potemkin's remains were dragged from their pompous tomb and thrown on a rubbish heap.

Some of the changes introduced by Paul were no doubt whimsical and futile, but many were thoroughly sound. Thus he put an end to the pernicious custom whereby the sons of aristocratic families were, from their cradles, registered as holding commissions in the army without ever being compelled to perform military service, owing to which the Russian army in the time of Catherine had to a large extent consisted of paper forces.

The character of Paul soon began to reveal itself; he alternated in the strangest way between paroxysms of severity and generosity. The explanation of his conduct lies, it may be, in certain elements of insanity in his temperament. If it were possible to find room in a short work like the present, many pages might be filled with anecdotes of the most amusing character. With effusive generosity Paul released Kosciuszko and the Polish prisoners who were incarcerated in Russia. Niemcewicz, while narrating these occurrences, tells us of the tsar: "He said himself, and I have no doubt sincerely, that if he had reigned at the time, far from cooperating in the partition of Poland, he would have been strongly opposed to it." Many terrible stories are told about persons who, without even the knowledge of Catherine, had been thrust by the influence of their personal enemies into *oubliettes,* where, after many years of hopeless captivity, they had expired. Some of those rescued by Paul had hardly preserved their reason.

One of the basest of the flatterers of Paul was the notorious Araktcheiev, who was his evil genius, as he was later that of his son, Alexander I. We shall hear more of this man in the reign of the latter, but as he is an important historical figure and was destined to play the part of a second Sejanus, a few biographical details may here be given. He was born in 1769, the son of a poor gentleman of the government of Novgorod. When he had afterward come to be a conspicuous person in the country he was anxious to manufacture a pedigree for himself, and started the fiction that his father had been a major in the army. As a lad Araktcheiev received no instruction save such as the village priest could give him, and the latter was paid in agricultural produce. Toward the close of the year 1782, he was taken by his father to St. Petersburg with the object of being enrolled in the corps of cadets, the money for the journey being raised by the sale of, among other things, two oxen. The father, however, was too poor to bribe the court officials, as was necessary in those days, and his petition remained unanswered for six months, during which period father and son suffered all the trials of extreme poverty. They were obliged to beg of the metropolitan Gabriel, and received as an alms a ruble, upon which they lived for ten days. Both father and son were to be seen day after day on the steps of the cadets' school, vainly hoping by their profound bows to attract the attention of General Milessino as he went to his carriage.

It was the son who finally had the boldness to accost the general and tell him of their deplorable destitution. Milessino went back to his study and returned with a favorable answer. Gradually, by complete obedience and regular habits, the young man pushed his way. He showed some talent for mathematics, but was more conspicuous for his roughness and ill-manners; when he was promoted to assist in the education and training of the cadets, he soon made himself notorious by the cruel personal chastisement which he inflicted. Afterward he managed to attract the attention of Count Soltikov, and in 1790 we find him an adjutant and captain.

Two years later, when Paul, then grand duke, requested General Milessino to find a man to take the charge of the artillery at Gatschina, Araktcheiev was selected for the post, and found himself on the highroad to favor. His extraordinary activity as a martinet of the most exacting and rigorous kind recommended him to Paul, and on the latter's accession his fortune was made. On the very day of the death of the Empress Catherine he was appointed commandant of St. Petersburg, and created major general, though barely twenty-seven years old. Honors continued to be showered upon him in rapid succession. In the course of a few months he was made baron, lieutenant general, knight of the Order of St. Alexander Nevski, and quartermaster general of the Russian army.

The new emperor soon made himself disliked by reviving many obsolete imperial privileges. He had the true spirit of a martinet, and was very strict about etiquette. People had to get out of their carriages when they met him and kneel in the mud. He had many particular antipathies, and was constantly issuing ukases about the shape of a hat or a coat. His especial wrath was kindled by anything which seemed to show that the bearer sympathized with the principles of the French Revolution. We are told in the memoirs of Pushkin that Paul had once met the future author of "Eugenii Oniegin" when a baby, and snatched the child's cap off because the nurse was not quick enough in doing so. But he was above all things infatuated with the idea of introducing the German dress into the army, just as his unfortunate father had been. Soldiers must now wear pigtails, have their hair powdered, and go about in gaiters. These changes were not pleasing to the veterans of Catherine's time, who had had their baptisms of fire under other conditions.

Public opinion, as far as it could venture to express itself, did so in a plethora of cutting epigrams and pasquinades—the invariable resource of a country where free discussion is denied. Suvarov himself got into trouble for some lines in which he had said that hair-powder was not gunpowder and pig-tails were not bayonets; and he remained in disgrace at his estate in the government of Novgorod until his services became indispensable to Paul. Kotzebue, the dramatist, venturing to return to Russia during the reign of Paul, was, for a fancied offense, at once sent off to Siberia, though afterward as capriciously pardoned, by the emperor. He tells us how he was sent for on one occasion by Paul, who gravely announced that he thought the Continental wars then raging would be best put a stop to if the European sovereigns would fight it out *propria persona;* and announced his intention of sending a challenge to each. Shishkov, in his memoirs, says that on one occasion, seeing a pompous-looking man in the surrounding crowd, Paul at once sent him (Shishkov) to tell the man that he was a great fool! When a foreign ambassador once spoke to him of a certain Russian being a great man, Paul is reported to have replied that no man was great in Russia except he be one to whom the emperor spoke, and that man was great only so long as the emperor was speaking to him.

But the drollest scenes were witnessed on parade, where the emperor would cane with his own hand any delinquent soldier who had been careless about his buttons. On one occasion he was much displeased with the unsoldierly appearance of a regiment, and when he gave the order to march, added, " to Siberia." Officers and men obeyed at once, and had proceeded some way on their journey, when they were overtaken by a courier sent by the tsar, with orders to return.

Paul, however, showed himself wise in altering the law of Peter the Great, whereby the sovereign was able to dispose of the succession by will. This had opened the door to many irregularities, and had placed on the throne female sovereigns, who were mere puppets, while the political strings were pulled, not only by Russian intriguers, but even by unscrupulous foreign adventurers.

At first it seemed as if the reign was to be a tranquil one, Paul having definitely said that Russia stood in need of peace. His reign, which lasted only about four years and six months,

1797-1798

November, 1796, to March, 1801, seemed to afford but little opportunity for any prolonged struggle. But he was nevertheless drawn into a war with France. As an autocratic monarch he had no sympathy with a republic. The unfortunate Louis XVIII., expelled from one court after another, found refuge at Mittau, the capital of Courland. Thither repaired Madame Royale, the daugh-

ter of Louis XVI., and the Abbé Edgeworth, who had accompanied her father to the scaffold. At Mittau the French princess was married to her cousin, the Duke d'Angoulème. At Mittau, also, the worthy Abbé Edgeworth was buried. The French had taken Malta, where in 1798 the knights had offered Paul the dignity of grand master, which he had accepted with much enthusiasm. Paul, therefore, was not without a reason for joining with Turkey, England, Austria, and Naples in a coalition against Bonaparte.

Meanwhile, Suvarov was vegetating in his country retreat,

reading the lessons on Sundays in the church, singing in the choir, and ringing the bells. He was still the quaint humorist of the days of Catherine, and, according to one story, when the letter of the emperor reached him, summoning him to take the command of the Russian army, he was ready with a new prank. On seeing the letter addressed Field-marshal Suvarov, Commander in chief, etc., etc., he sent it back, adding that there was no such person in the village, but only a certain Court Suvarov, and, therefore, the letter could not be for him. Russia now sent troops to Verona, where, according to arrangement, Suvarov took the command of the combined Russian and Austrian armies.

On his return to Russia, after a very brilliant campaign, Suvarov was destined to experience the ingratitude of Paul, who was doubtless displeased at the great losses which the Russian army had sustained; for it has been calculated that Suvarov lost quite a third of his men. The emperor refused to see him, and the veteran retired to his estate at Kantchansk in the government of Novgorod, where he soon after died in 1800. The English ambassador was the only person present at his funeral. Over his grave in the Alexander Nevski monastery are inscribed these three words: "Here lies Suvarov" (Zdies lezhit Suvarov).

The capricious Paul now seems to have changed completely his views and sympathies. He declared himself disgusted with the treatment which he had received, not only from Austria, but at the hands of England; for Russia had suffered from the incapacity and blunders of the Duke of York in Holland. Bonaparte took advantage of this irritation on the part of Paul, and stimulated it by secret intrigues. He gained over at St. Petersburg two very influential persons, *viz.*, Kutaisov, who had been promoted by the emperor from the humble status of a barber, and the celebrated Rostoptchin, of whom we shall hear so much in the reign of Alexander. The last named was a few years older than Paul's other minion, Araktcheiev, having been born in 1765 in the government of Orel. His father was a retired lieutenant, but nothing is known of the earlier history of his family. He was fond of speaking of himself as descended from Tatar princes, but many of these statements appear to have been legendary. He had seen some military service, having been in one of the Turkish campaigns, but had quarreled with Suvarov and left the army in 1792. We next hear of him as gentleman of the bedchamber to the Emperor

Paul, whose favor he won, as did Araktcheiev, by his obsequiousness and attention to minute details. On the death of Catherine, Paul appointed him brigadier and soon after major general and president of the military college, which was equivalent to his being made minister of war. In 1798 he was made minister of foreign affairs. We shall find him throughout to have been a Russian of the old type, uncompromising in his policy and a thorough hater of western ideas. One of his first steps was to get rid of General Dumouriez, who had been sent to St. Petersburg to carry on intrigues for the Bourbons.

Paul at first did not seem to wish to break with the English, and a certain number of Russian troops were allowed to remain interned in Guernsey, whither they had been sent on the failure of the Duke of York's expedition. But a quarrel soon broke out because the English would not exchange some of their French prisoners for the Russians who had been taken, and gave Paul to understand that they intended to keep the Island of Malta, which that fantastic sovereign seemed to consider as being under his immediate protection.

Napoleon understood how to work upon these feelings, and sent back the Russian prisoners newly clothed and armed. Paul then recalled his troops from Guernsey, but the English detained them yet a little longer with a view of baffling the intrigues of Paul and Napoleon. The immediate cause, however, of the outbreak of war between England and Russia was that Paul, like his mother before him, challenged the right of search of neutral vessels which the English claimed in time of war. In this attempt Paul was joined by Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark. In 1800 sixteen English ships appeared before Copenhagen and threatened to bombard the city if Denmark did not acknowledge England's right of search. The Danes, however, through the skillful diplomacy of their minister, Count Bernstorff, were able to stave off the difficulty without sacrificing any of their rights.

On September 5, 1800, Malta capitulated, and the English took possession. When the news reached Paul he was beside himself with rage. Lord Whitworth, the ambassador, had already been ordered to quit St. Petersburg, and on November 7 Paul laid an embargo on three hundred English ships in Russian ports, and sent their crews prisoners into the interior. Shortly before this the unhappy Louis XVIII. had been ordered to quit Mittau at the most

unfavorable period of the year. The exile was soon to understand how many of the potentates of Europe were offering their homage to the rising power of Bonaparte. The melancholy journey of the royalist fugitives commenced in January, 1801. The weather was in the highest degree unfavorable, and the route to be traversed devoid of all opportunities of comfort. We have full details in the diary of one of the suite of Louis, a certain Viscomte de Hardouineau, which is now preserved in the *Bibliothèque Nationale,* and has as yet been printed only in the extracts given by Kraushar. The titular king was allowed by the Prussian monarch to take up his abode at Warsaw, which at that time was in the possession of the Prussians. But even while there he was not free from the espionage which Fouché directed against him. Napoleon is said to have entertained the design of having him seized as he had the Duke d'Enghien. We also hear of proposals being made to him that he should receive as a kingdom a portion of dismembered Poland. But he eventually returned to Mittau in the reign of Alexander.

Paul was now bent upon carrying into effect his confederation against the English. A fleet was commissioned and an army was placed under the command of Soltikov, Pahlen, and Kutuzov. Napoleon, then first consul, had already sent Durocq to St. Petersburg with proposals to Paul that he should invade India. In March a powerful English squadron sailed from Yarmouth to the Baltic under the command of Admirals Parker and Nelson, and there was every sign of a great war impending, when the news of the death of Paul startled the world. He was assassinated on the night of March 23, 1801.

Napoleon vainly endeavored to insinuate that this crime was committed at the instigation of the English. The fact was that the fantastic government of Paul had become intolerable to his own subjects. The constant changes in his foreign policy were ruining the country, and the war with England was in the highest degree prejudicial to the trade of Russia. The details of the tragedy are but dimly known. On the night of March 23, between eleven and twelve o'clock, after a protracted banquet, a group of conspirators entered the Mikhailovski palace, where Paul had been for some time residing, and which he had caused to be carefully fortified. There the tsar, having refused to abdicate in favor of his eldest son, Alexander, is said to have been strangled by Zubov,

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Pahlen, and others. Sablukov, on duty at the time, has left us some details of what occurred, though of the actual assassination he saw nothing. It is said, however, to have been committed by Benningsen, who, when the conspirators thought that their victim had escaped, found him crouching behind a screen in the apartment.

We are told that Alexander was filled with grief on hearing of the death of his father, he having only given his consent to the demand for his abdication. According to some writers, the empress, on hearing of her husband's death, was very anxious that the supreme authority should be intrusted to her. But the Russians could not but feel that they had had enough of German rule; even though it had given them a Catherine.

Prince Adam Czartoryski, the intimate friend of the Emperor Alexander, has described the circumstances of the tragedy in his memoirs. According to him, Alexander knew that his father would in a few hours be called upon to abdicate, and, in a very excited state, threw himself dressed upon his bed. This fact explains how it was that Sablukov saw him still dressed in the middle of the night. About one o'clock Alexander heard a knock at his door, and there saw Count Nicholas Zubov. The latter came up to the grand duke, who was sitting on his bed, and said in a hoarse whisper, "All is over." "What is over?" asked Alexander, in a state of astonishment. He had not the least idea of what had happened, but he perceived that Zubov, without offering any explanation, addressed him as "Sire," and "Your Majesty." This led him to question further, and then the whole truth was communicated to him. When the empress heard the news she rushed out of her apartments with cries of anger and despair. On seeing some grenadiers, she said to them repeatedly: "As your emperor has died a victim to treason, I am your empress, I am alone your legitimate sovereign; follow me and protect me." Benningsen and Pahlen, who had brought a detachment of soldiers to the palace, had great difficulty in getting her to return to her room. Prince Adam says that her appeals to the soldiers (which were perhaps rendered somewhat ridiculous by her German accent) produced no effect. The only person who retained self-possession, and was able to console Alexander, was his wife. His attitude with regard to his father's murderers was a very painful one. He knew that there was great sympathy with the objects of the conspiracy; and that if the conspirators had been brought to trial they would cer-

tainly have been able to show that he was privy, at all events, to the deposition of his father. Hence it was, that although the empress dowager was continually urging him to proceed against his father's murderers, it was not possible for him to do so by the ordinary legal means.

In a subsequent letter to Addington, then prime minister, Nelson wrote: "We did not [then] know of the death of the Emperor Paul: my intention was to penetrate to Revel before that ice had appeared at Kronstadt, so as to destroy twelve Russian ships-of-war. Now I shall go there in the capacity of a friend."

The new emperor received the oaths of fidelity from his subjects early in the morning in the chapel of the winter palace, and it was noticed that he was in a state of great agitation.

Such was the end of Paul, a very strange figure in European history, but a man of considerable shrewdness, and by no means wanting in heart. The Empress Maria survived till 1828. By her he had a numerous family, the eldest being the Tsar Alexander. Then followed in order of seniority the remaining three sons: Constantine, Viceroy of Poland; Nicholas, afterward the emperor; and Michael. Of his daughters, Alexandra had been originally betrothed to Gustavus IV. She afterward gave her hand to Joseph, Palatine of Hungary. Maria married the Duke of Saxe-Weimar. Catherine married first, Prince George of Oldenburg, and secondly, William I., King of Wurtemberg; and Anne married William II., King of Holland, and became the mother of William III., who, in many of his characteristics, showed himself a true grandson of Paul.

PART III

THE DOMINATION OF ABSOLUTISM
1801-1855

Chapter XI

ALEXANDER I AND NAPOLEON. 1801-1812

ON coming to the throne Alexander at once made peace with England and France. It was impossible for Russia to continue at variance with the former, with whom she had such abundant commercial relations. The new emperor was only twenty-five years of age, and without being exactly a handsome man was by no means ill favored, as his father had been. He had considerable grace of manner, according to universal testimony; but we shall be better able to study his character as we deal with the events of his reign.

Alexander felt uneasy at the constant aggressions of Napoleon. He accordingly sent Novosiltsov, a minister who had great influence over him, to England with the view of negotiating a coalition against France. The British cabinet agreed to furnish a subsidy of 1,200,000*l.* sterling, about $6,000,000, for every hundred thousand men Russia put into the field. Thus was brought about the third coalition against Napoleon in the year 1805. The King of Prussia speedily joined it, swearing friendship with Alexander by the side of the coffin of Frederick the Great.

One of the first acts of Alexander was the annexation of Georgia, a very valuable and picturesque portion of the Russian empire. There had been a connection subsisting between Georgia and Russia as far back as the close of the fifteenth century. In the reign of Catherine General Todleben, who had occupied Berlin in the Seven Years' War, had to some extent driven the Turks out of Georgia. Toward the close of the eighteenth century the country had suffered greatly at the hands of its Moslem neighbors, and more particularly the Persians. In 1793 the shah, Aga Mohammed, had made a descent upon Tiflis and reduced it to a heap of ashes. It may with perfect truth be said that if Russia had not interfered to protect her coreligionists they would have been wiped out from among the nations. Heraclius, the king, escaped, but died not long afterward at a very advanced age; and George, his

son and successor, surrendered the country to Russia in 1799, and died the following year. The actual unification, therefore, of Georgia with Russia belongs to the reign of Paul, but the manifesto incorporating it as part of the empire was issued by Alexander in September, 1801. It is said that Maria, the queen of George, was not equally ready to surrender her claim, and that violence was resorted to to compel her acquiescence, but the authorities for this anecdote are not very convincing. Tiflis has risen from its ashes, and at the present time is one of the most charming cities in the empire. Probably in the future it may become a place of much importance, lying as it does on one of the main roads to India.

To return, however, to the third coalition against Napoleon. By the Treaty of Potsdam, as it was called, the Prussians agreed to furnish eighty thousand men. It was not long before the coalition was joined by Austria. The latter had a grievance in the formation of the kingdom of Italy, and was not without hopes of getting back Lombardy. The King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus IV., who had been personally insulted by Napoleon, had conceived such a hatred of him that he was ready to attack him alone. When, however, it came to action, Prussia, chiefly through the policy of General Haugwitz, preferred neutrality. This attitude on the part of Prussia was very injurious to the cause; for the plan of campaign as settled by Austria allowed the French to concentrate their strength on one point. The Austrian generals, Prince Schwarzenberg and Baron Mack, supposed that Italy would be the seat of war as before, and decided in a council of war in conjunction with the Russian general, Baron Wintzenrode, to divide the Austrian forces into three armies. Of these the principal force, under the command of the Archduke Charles, was to invade the kingdom of Italy; another was to enter Switzerland from the Tyrol; while the third, amounting to 80,000 men, under the nominal command of the Archduke Ferdinand, with Mack at the head, was to remain in a defensive position in Bavaria, on the banks of the Lech, till the arrival of a Russian army of 90,000 men, when the united force was to march into Suabia, and thence to Franche-Comté, as soon as the Archduke Charles had defeated Napoleon in Italy. Bonaparte, however, by one decisive stroke broke up all these plans and annihilated the hopes of the court of Vienna. As soon as he heard of the outbreak of the war he moved his armies with incredible rapidity from France, Holland, and Hanover into the very

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heart of Austria, and to the rear of the main force. He crossed the Rhine without opposition, and secured to his interests Wurtemberg, Baden, and Bavaria. He then passed through the Prussian territories (the principality of Anspach) without paying any attention to the announced neutrality of the cabinet of Berlin. Prussia was to reap but little from her selfish policy.

It is not necessary here to give in detail the military events of the campaigns of the fourth coalition. After the battles of Eylau and Friedland Alexander was willing to listen to terms of peace. Prussia was practically ruined, Austria mutilated, and but little inclined to attempt any fresh adventures. Alexander was also annoyed with England, which had just refused him a loan. Accordingly, when a truce had been signed (June 22), Prince Lobanov arrived at Tilsit with proposals for an interview between the tsar and Napoleon. This took place on June 25 on a raft moored in the middle of the Niemen, and the Treaty of Tilsit was concluded (July 7, 1807). The terms of this treaty only affected Russian possessions to a small extent. At the intercession of Alexander, Frederick William III. of Prussia was allowed to keep his crown, though he was deprived of nearly half his kingdom. He was compelled to give up all his territories between the Elbe and the Rhine; to cede the circle of Cottbus in Lusatia to the King of Saxony; and to abandon all his Polish possessions, including Dantzic, with the exception of Warmia, or Ermeland, and a part of the district of Netze. All the rest of Prussian Poland, under the style of "Grand Duchy of Warsaw," was to be transferred to the King of Saxony; and the latter in order to connect his possession, was to have a military road through the Prussian territories. Dantzic, with a territory of ten leagues in circumference, was to be independent under the protection of Prussia and Saxony. The department of Bielostok, formerly attached to Prussia, was to be made over to Russia. The penalty paid by Prussia was indeed severe, but it was the result, to a great extent, of a selfish and vacillating policy.

A secret treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was now concluded between Napoleon and Alexander, the two powers aimed at being England and Turkey. Russia was to address an ultimatum to England, which, if neglected, was to be followed by a declaration of war on the part of Russia before December 1. Another treaty is said to have been also made by which these

powers were to divide the world between them; among other territories Turkey was to be assigned to Russia.

Meanwhile an order of the British Government had declared all the ports of the French empire blockaded from Brest to the Elbe. On November 21, 1806, Napoleon had issued his celebrated Berlin Decree, and in the following spring Copenhagen was bombarded by the English, and Russia made her declaration of war, alleging want of good faith on the part of England. This attempt on the part of Alexander to enforce the Berlin Decree of Napoleon was very detrimental to the interests of his own country. She was the great producer of raw material, and required, above all things, the markets for her products which England afforded her. Alexander proclaimed anew the armed neutrality, and declared that he would enter into no dealings with England till the Danes had received compensation. This was followed by an embargo laid upon all English vessels in Russian ports. Thus after having suffered great humiliation at the hands of Napoleon Russia turned against England. All efforts, however, of Alexander to make the King of Sweden close his ports against the English were ineffectual. He still allowed them to use Goteborg as a free port. The Russians found in this a pretext for declaring war against Sweden and for annexing the long-coveted Finland. Gustavus IV. was a man of weak character, and though he must have known that the Russians meditated an attack on his territory, he seems to have made no effort whatever to resist them. On the contrary, just before their arrival he had gone off with an army to Norway.

The Swedish troops, scattered in small detachments over the whole surface of Finland, remained quietly in their winter quarters, and did not begin to concentrate until the Russians had passed the frontier. The king appointed Count Klingspor to the chief command of the Finnish army, and gave him orders to collect the scattered regiments. Buxhövden appeared on the scene with 20,000 men, to be followed by 40,000 more. The troops under Klingspor and Adlercreutz now took the field. The Swedes were at first victorious in one or two petty engagements, but lost what they had gained by the battle of Ormais on September 14, 1808, and the defeat of Lokalar on September 18. General Knorring, who had crossed the Gulf of Bothnia on the ice with 25,000 Russians, took possession of the Aland Islands and granted the Swedes a cessation of hostilities so that terms of peace might be arranged.

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As the result, Sweden surrendered Finland with the whole of East Bothnia and a part of West Bothnia, lying eastward of the River Torneo. This cession of territory was guaranteed by the Treaty of Fredrikshamn, September 17, 1809. Treason on the part of some of the officers in high command is known to have occurred, especially in the surrender of Sveaborg, the fortified outpost of Helsingfors. Sweden thus lost a population of 900,000 souls. The grand duchy had been evacuated by the Swedish and Finnish troops toward the close of the year 1808.

A Finnish deputation, elected by the nobility, the clergy, the burgesses, and the peasantry, the four "estates," assembled at St. Petersburg in November, 1808. The emperor was anxious to consult them on the condition of the country. They declared to him in solemn audience that this could only be done in a full meeting of the diet. To this the emperor assented, and by a decree of February 1, 1809, the estates were summoned to assemble at Borga. The emperor was present at the opening of this diet, and signed a declaration to the effect that he confirmed and ratified the religion and fundamental laws of the land, and that each class in the country was to continue to enjoy the privileges it had already had under the constitution. Changes, however, had to be introduced to a certain extent, because the supreme tribunal and the offices of the central government had up to that time been at Stockholm. The former taxes were continued, with the exception of some extraordinary imposts from which the emperor desired the people to be exempt. The revenues of the grand duchy were to be employed solely for the wants of the country itself, and thus the independence of Finland's budget was secured. Alexander at the same time conceded that there should be no compulsory recruiting in Finland.

The line of frontier between Russia and Finland remained at first as it had been fixed in 1743 between Russia and Sweden; but the emperor, for the sake of unity, generously united to the duchy the province of Viborg, which had been acquired in the time of Peter the Great. The statutes of the state council were sanctioned on August 18, 1809. For some time the council sat at Abo, but in 1819 removed to Helsingfors, which has since been considered the capital of the country. By the statute of 1809, the governor-general was to preside at the council. The diet was not convoked again in the time of Alexander, nor indeed at all during

the reign of Nicholas. But in the time of Alexander III. a law was passed by which it was enacted that the diet should be convoked periodically.

Before the signing of the Treaty of Fredrikshamn, Gustavus IV. had been deposed. He ended his life as a private individual; and Bernadotte, Prince of Monte Corvo, one of Napoleon's generals, founded a new dynasty, which has lasted until the present day. He ascended the throne under the name of Charles John. England had partially assisted the Swedes against the Russians by blockading some of the vessels of the latter in the ports of Esthonia. Another Russian fleet, under Admiral Siniavin, which sailed to Portugal to coöperate with the French against the English, was obliged to surrender to Admiral Cotton, but it was afterward restored to Russia.

The annexation of Georgia had brought Russia into collision with Persia, and this proved disastrous for the latter power, in that she was compelled to surrender Derbent and the province of Shirvan. However, by September 1, 1810, the Persians had ceased to be troublesome. Turkey about this time was in one of its chronic states of apparent dissolution. The authority of the sultan was set at defiance by his dependents. Pasvan Oglu was in rebellion at Widdin, and Ali Pasha at Janina. Moreover, a serious rebellion was on foot in Servia, led by Czerny (Black) George, who was really laying the foundations of the emancipation of that country from Ottoman rule. Napoleon had been intriguing with the Turks, whom he wished to force into a war with Russia, for he foresaw that the Treaty of Tilsit was fast becoming waste paper. The ultimate effect of the quarrel between Turkey and Russia was the cession by the former power of Bessarabia, by which the Russian dominions were extended to the Pruth.

All things were now tending to the great quarrel between Napoleon and Alexander. During the year 1810 Napoleon had pushed his Berlin Decree to the utmost. Still the two emperors affected extreme courtesies to each other: Alexander sent malachite vases, and Napoleon had the Russian emperor's bust manufactured in porcelain at Sevres. At the celebrated meeting at Erfurt, when Talma, the actor, pronounced the line, "The friendship of a great man is a favor of the gods," Alexander, pressing the hand of Napoleon, declared that he had never felt it so much as at that time. In fact, more than courtly deception pre-

vailed, and when we find Napoleon afterward speaking of Alexander as a man full of duplicity and false as a Greek of the Byzantine period, we may be sure that he was secretly lamenting the failure of his own exaggerated flattery and carefully prepared traps. Meanwhile the adulation of the German princes formed a fitting chorus. There was, however, soon to be a termination of this unreal friendship. Alexander, by a ukase of December 31, 1810, allowed the importation of colonial products into Russia under a neutral flag, and so interfered with the Continental blockade and inflicted a mortal blow upon the Treaty of Tilsit. Russian commerce had been practically ruined, and the coinage had greatly depreciated. Moreover, Russia did not relish the creation of the duchy of Warsaw—a resuscitation of Poland and a formal menace to her; nor did she like the intrigues which were going on between the French and the Poles.

The quarrel with Turkey having been arranged by the Treaty of Bucharest, May 28, 1812, Alexander began to feel that he could embark upon the great war which menaced him. Napoleon for nearly a year and a half, for objects which no one could divine exactly, had been massing troops on the Russian frontiers, especially on the River Nieman. It was conjectured that these movements were directed against Russia. Napoleon, who had fortified Dantzic, soon declared war, and Alexander made preparations to meet him. He had distributed his forces as follows: 90,000 men under the orders of Barclay de Tolly, without including Platov's Cossacks, occupied the line of the Niemen, and formed the First Army of the West. The Second Army of the West, 60,000 strong, under Prince Bagration, guarded the frontier of the duchy of Warsaw. Lower down, about 45,000 men, commanded by General Tormasov, formed the Third Army of the West. This latter force was intended to act as a reserve for the first two, and to watch the movements of the Austrian contingent in Galicia, which was nominally coöperating with Napoleon. Finally, at the two extremities of the country, the Army of Finland, under the command of Count Wittgenstein, and the Army of Moldavia, under the orders of Tchitchagov, completed the system of defense. The center of operations, and the headquarters of the emperor, were at Vilna. After some demands made by both parties had been rejected, the war began. Napoleon raised the garrison of Dantzic to 20,000, and Hamburg was occupied by the corps of Davout,

under the pretext that the King of Sweden had connived at the introduction of English goods and colonial produce. Napoleon, having in vain endeavored to induce Turkey to begin another war with Russia, then set out on his great expedition. It was from his headquarters at Wilkowiszki in Russian Poland, on June 22, 1812, that he definitely declared war.

Various statements have been made about the number of men Napoleon had with him. It was probably between 500,000 and 600,000 men. The bulk of the army really consisted of Germans, who were skillfully distributed among the Frenchmen, so that they should not know their own numbers. There are supposed to have been 120,000 Germans at least. There were also several thousand Italians, Spaniards, and Portuguese forced into service. But carefully dispersed among the various regiments were also 60,000 Poles, who were burning with hatred of Russia and eager to restore their fallen country. The Russians could bring against this enormous host about 372,000 men all told, but these were all animated with extraordinary fanaticism against the invader, and their patriotism was further stimulated by the proclamation of the tsar. Besides the Poles he actually had in his army, Napoleon could also count upon 100,000 more ready to raise the standard of Polish independence, and do what they could to hamper the Russians.

On June 24 the invader crossed the Niemen between Kovno and Grodno. This was one of the few available places at which the country could be invaded, owing to the number of marshes and the bad roads which existed generally throughout Russia, and which could not be traversed in wet weather. The French were amazed that they met with no resistance. Some sappers were the the first to cross in a boat. They reached the bank and landed. A Cossack officer commanding a patrol came up to them and asked who they were. "French," they replied. "What do you want, and why do you come to Russia?" A sapper answered rudely, "To make war upon you; to take Vilna, and deliver Poland." The Cossack then went off into a thicket, and the three soldiers discharged their pieces after him.

Napoleon, with the greater part of his forces, moved to Vilna against Barclay de Tolly, sending at the same time his brother, Jerome, King of Westphalia, against Bagration. His idea was by rapid maneuvers to separate the Russian armies and so destroy them in detail. In this he nearly succeeded, and the Russian

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plan of operations, which had been devised by the Prussian general Pfühl, was completely upset. Napoleon was to have been resisted on the frontiers of the empire. Barclay de Tolly was to be firmly entrenched in a fortified camp on the Dwina at Drissa, and there to keep in check the main army of the invader, while Bagration with Tormasov and Tchitchagov was to act on his flank and rear. In furtherance of this plan, Barclay de Tolly concentrated his corps in the neighborhood of Vilna, and moved northward in order to occupy his fortified camp at Drissa. Bagration took up his quarters at Slonim. This was quite in accord with the wishes of Napoleon. The chief Russian armies were separated from each other by more than 300 versts. Between them was Marshal Davout, who occupied Minsk with a strong force. It thus became evident, if there had been any doubt about it previously, that the Russian generals were not men of great tactical capacity. The immeasurable superiority of Napoleon's forces made it doubtful whether he could be stopped on the Dwina; the more so as the fortifications appeared to be completely untrustworthy. The Russian plan was therefore changed. It was resolved under any circumstances to unite the western armies, and not until that had been done to venture on an engagement. Barclay de Tolly moved higher up the Dwina to Vitebsk, and ordered Bagration to join him quickly. Prince Wittgenstein was left with one corps to protect Pskov and Novgorod; and this corps had some success against the French detachments.

Alexander now issued a proclamation calling to arms the whole Russian people, in consequence of the great crisis in which the country found itself. Moscow answered by a unanimous readiness to sacrifice everything for tsar and country; the nobility bound themselves to furnish regiments; the merchants did not spare their treasures; the people only asked for arms to go against the enemy. The other cities of the empire followed the example of Moscow with such zeal that the emperor considered it sufficient to form a militia in seventeen governments only, those, namely, which were nearest to the theater of the war. In one month more than 200,000 men had been armed at the expense of the nobility and merchants, and were ready to take the field.

Directly after crossing the Niemen the French occupied Kovno, and on the following day, June 27, their light cavalry was within ten leagues of Vilna. The Russians fell back behind the Vilia,

after burning the bridge and their stores. A deputation of the principal inhabitants of Vilna delivered to Napoleon the keys of the town. The whole of the French army was now concentrated near Vilna, and the second Russian corps, under General Bagovut, had effected a retreat across the Dwina. The Polish Uhlans of the Eighth Regiment, commanded by Prince Radziwill, entered Vilna first. The town was large and populous, and it was calculated that the army would get abundant supplies. Moreover, it was full of people well affected to the French, and had indeed only been for a short time part of the Russian dominions. The attitude of the Polish population at this time has been well described in the "Pan Tadewsz" of Mickiewicz. They considered that the hour of their deliverance had come, and looked upon Napoleon as the Messiah.

The bad roads now began to tell terribly upon the horses, and the invader seems to have had a foretaste of what he was to suffer later. The French found the country before them deserted; and this was the case more and more as they passed out of territory which had till quite recently been Polish, and, therefore, contained many secret sympathizers. Napoleon, in an address to the Poles, declared that he reëstablished the independence of the country. He knew that there were many soldiers of Polish nationality in the Russian ranks, and accordingly summoned them to leave the service of their oppressors. The address concluded thus: "Hasten and range yourselves under the eagles of the Jagiellos, the Casimirs, and the Sobieskis. Your country requires it of you. Honor and religion equally command it." The standard of Lithuania, representing a galloping horse, was seen floating on the walls of Vilna, and those who had dreamed of a restored Poland thought their dream had come true. Napoleon reorganized the civil administration of the town, which had been deranged owing to the departure of the chief functionaries. But his real desire was to witness a levy of the Lithuanians *en masse*. He adopted a favorite device of invaders, that of inducing the peasants to rise against their masters. These plans, however, did not lead to any important results. The country, however, was pillaged by the soldiers, and the peasants fled into the woods. The French were horrified at the continual appearance of Jews of the most abject demeanor, and clothed in the filthiest rags, who abandoned themselves to all kinds of petty forms of extortion. Labaume tells us that when

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the sub-prefect of Nowy Troki came from Vilna to take possession of his department he was stopped by the French troops and plundered of everything. Even his own escort robbed him of his provisions and clothes. At length he arrived on foot in a condition so wretched that everyone regarded as a spy the man who was destined to be the first French administrator. This serves to indicate what a horde of brigands the French were letting loose upon the unhappy country.

A great diet had been summoned at Warsaw for June 28, and the idea proposed was to offer the crown of Poland to the King of Saxony. A committee was formed to consider the following three proposals: (1) the union with the new kingdom of Poland of all the provinces which she had lost in earlier times, especially the Russian-speaking portions of Lithuania; (2) the recall of the Poles from the Russian service; and (3) the dispatch of a deputation to Napoleon, entreating him to extend to them his protection. This deputation reached Napoleon at Vilna the night before his departure. The duplicity and insincerity of the man soon became transparent. He had no real love for popular assemblies or constitutional rights, however much he might use such expressions about a powerful enemy whose rule he wished to break up. He would make no definite promises, but on the contrary demanded more sacrifices from them. Thus he required that the provinces which Russia had taken from Poland should declare against the former country before he entered them. Moreover, Galicia was still to belong to Austria, because he had guaranteed the integrity of her dominions.

A detachment of the French army under Murat now tried to intercept Platov, the hetman of the Cossacks, before he could join the main Russian army, but failed to do so on account of the badness of the roads. The legs of a great many horses were broken in the morasses which continually obstructed the path of the French general. At length he arrived at Smorgoni, the inhabitants of which proved to consist chiefly of Jews.

The Russians, after evacuating Vilna, retired to Vitebsk and thence to Smolensk. After three days' desperate fighting the latter place, where troops to the number of 120,000 had been concentrated, was set on fire, and, on the approach of Napoleon, evacuated. According to the accounts of eyewitnesses, Smolensk presented a ghastly spectacle. Every street, every square was covered with

the bodies of the Russians, dead or dying. The cathedral became the refuge of those who had escaped the flames. Labaume describes the entry of the French army into the town to the sound of warlike music. On the road from Smolensk the enemy found only the ruins of villages burned by the inhabitants, who had concealed themselves in the forests after committing to the flames all that they could not take with them. The French marched without guides and often lost their way. The war began to resemble the expedition of Charles XII. a hundred years previously. The only difference was that Peter had then acted according to plans sketched out beforehand with the complete conviction of the necessity of avoiding a decisive battle until the enemy, who were continually being drawn farther and farther into the devastated country, should be thoroughly weakened. Peter spared neither towns nor villages, setting them on fire indiscriminately, and giving strict orders to the inhabitants to retire into the forest. Charles had everywhere found ashes, ruins, and unpeopled wastes; Napoleon found the same, but, and here is the distinction, owing to the self-sacrifice of the Russian people, who, without being in any way instigated to it, did all they could to impede the enemy.

The continued retreat of Barclay de Tolly before the French, and the fact that he seemed to have no settled plan, had the effect of making him unpopular, and the discontent soon became universal, growing in intensity as he abandoned city after city. If we are to believe the words of Pushkin even his foreign name contributed to this, he being descended from a Scotch soldier of fortune who had emigrated to Livonia. At length the Russian army, now encamped at Tsarevo Zaimistche, learned that they were to have a new commander. On August 29 Kutuzov made his appearance, a veteran who had been tried in many previous battles and was looked upon by the Russians as almost their last hope. He was, however, inferior as a general to Barclay. Kutuzov at once declared that the Russian army should retreat no farther. The French were now within four days' march of Moscow, and with a view to its defense, he looked out for a strong position between Gzhatsk and Mozhaisk, where a decisive blow might, he thought, be struck. This he found on the little River Moskva, near Borodino.

On September 5 Murat attacked the rear guard of the Russians under the command of Konovnitsin at the Kolotski monas-

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tery, and forced them to retreat to Borodino. Before daybreak on the 7th the whole of the French forces were paraded, and every captain read out to his company the following proclamation: "Soldiers! this is the battle so much desired by you. The victory depends on yourselves. A victory is now necessary to us. It will give us abundance of all we wish—good winter quarters and a prompt return to our country. Behave as you behaved at Austerlitz, at Friedland, at Vitebsk, at Smolensk, and let the latest posterity recount with pride your conduct on this day. Let them say of each one of you: he was at the great battle under the walls of Moscow!"

The Russians had taken up an admirable defensive position, and had thrown up vast earthworks. Both sides had spent the previous evening in careful preparations. Napoleon is said to have thought that the Russians would retreat during the night. On the morning of the battle he personally visited every regiment. Kutuzov, preceded by an icon which had been rescued from Smolensk, harangued his soldiers but in very different language from that used by the French generals. Suddenly a radiant sun burst through the thick fog, whereupon Napoleon is said to have exclaimed: "This is the sun of Austerlitz!" All was now ready; the armies were in sight of each other, the gunners at their posts. The signal for action, which seems to have been given about six o'clock, although accounts vary a great deal, was the firing of a cannon from the principal French battery. The Russians had a strong position, though their earthworks had been hastily constructed. Their chief defenses consisted of one great redoubt and three smaller ones. The village of Borodino had already been set on fire.

The large redoubt from which the Russians kept up a murderous fire was at length captured, though not without a terrible struggle, and the guns were turned upon the Russians themselves. It was Murat and his staff who got possession of the big redoubt and cut down all the artillerymen. Kutuzov then ordered the Russian cuirassiers to advance, and the fight waxed fiercer than ever. The interior of the redoubt presented a horrible spectacle, corpse being piled on corpse. Labaume describes how he saw the body of a Russian gunner decorated with crosses. In one hand he held a broken sword and with the other firmly grasped the carriage of the gun which he had been serving. All the Russian

soldiers in the redoubt had chosen death in preference to surrender. The general who commanded them had sworn to die at his post, and seeing all his comrades dead, tried to throw himself upon the Frenchmen's swords. The latter, however, in view of the honor of capturing so valiant a prisoner, resolved to spare him, and Murat ordered him to be conducted to the emperor. The smaller works were taken and retaken.

Murat and Eugène Beauharnais, the viceroy, as he was called, were conspicuous for bravery, the latter even standing at one time on the parapet of the great redoubt. Napoleon is said to have been on foot during the battle, and to have been suffering from a very bad cold. He remained in the rear of the center and directed some very dashing maneuvers, including the dispatch of the Westphalians and Poles to support Ney in his attempt to turn the Russian position; these were, however, repulsed with great loss.

The Russians kept up a determined fire until nightfall, and this was so well directed that, according to Labaume, the legion of the Vistula, commanded by General Claparede, was forced to kneel down behind the grand redoubt. In this uncomfortable position they remained for more than an hour. The Russian fire at length slackened, only a few shots being heard at intervals, until the silence of the last redoubt gave the French reason to believe that the Russians were preparing to retire on the road to Mozhaisk. The weather, which had been very fine during the day, became cold and damp toward evening. Some of the corps of the French army were without food, and the want of firewood left them exposed to all the rigors of a Russian autumn; it was a foretaste of what they were destined to suffer before leaving Russian territory.

The next day (September 8), very early in the morning, the French returned to the field. They found, as they had surmised, that the Russians had retreated during the night. The latter, having lost two of their redoubts, saw that their position was no longer tenable. The field was strewn with heaps of the slain, and there are not wanting authorities who have not hesitated to characterize the battle of Borodino as the most sanguinary since the invention of gunpowder. Various computations have been made as to the number of slain. Napoleon had indeed gained a Pyrrhic victory; he is calculated to have lost more than 30,000 men, and the Russians 40,000. Many important generals fell on both sides.

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Many eloquent descriptions have been given of the terrible scenes presented by the battlefield. Space does not admit of quotation, but the splendid genius of Tolstoi and Vereshchagin has recorded them in their respective manner for posterity.

As the French army pursued the retreating Russians within half a league of the village of Krasnoë they found the road defended by four other great redoubts, in the form of a square. The Russians had retired quickly, carrying off the wounded, and their pursuers had not fully perceived their movements. At Mozhaisk, about six versts from Borodino, the French came upon a Russian camp, where a number of the wounded had been left. The defense of this post had been intrusted to the Cossacks and their hetman, Platov. These had formed the rear guard of the army. Four guns had been given to Platov, but in front of the little town of Mozhaisk, which had been reduced to ruins, it was impossible for him to keep the French at bay for the appointed time, four hours, however advantageously he was conditioned in other respects. Platov accordingly retreated, and for doing so was degraded by Kutuzov until the end of the war. But even in his lower rank he continued to do his duty bravely, and the emperor afterward made him a count. Platov, who was a Cossack of the old school, was deeply hurt by the way in which the officials treated him in Moscow. His nephew tells us that in his old age he showed a marked dislike for official papers; the sight of them threw him into a passion, and he could hardly be induced to sign any. If any sealed packets came into his hands he always put them in a particular room under lock and key. From this room more than two cartloads, which had never been opened, were carried away after his death. He seems to have had a vague but not ill-founded idea that these papers might contain indictments against himself.

Kutuzov now saw all his tactics paralyzed. Even up to five o'clock on the fatal day of Borodino it had seemed that victory might eventually rest with him. He actually issued orders for fighting on the following day. But about eleven o'clock the same night he perceived that his losses were too great. Napoleon remained master of the field, though greatly disconcerted by the stubborn resistance of the Russians. He did not conceal his disappointment at the result of the battle, though it was now evident that nothing could save Moscow.

Kutuzov and the chief generals of the Russian army hastened to the ancient city. On the slope of the Poklonnaya Hills, in view of Moscow, at the village of Filakhi, a council was held in a peasant's cottage. Were the Russians to defend Moscow, or to surrender it to the invader without a battle? The surrounding country is uneven, intersected by rivers, and unsuited for fighting. It had no fortified walls and no earthworks, and this explains why it was so often the prey of the Tatar. Moreover, after such great losses it would be the wildest folly to attempt a second Borodino. In addition to this the French army was approaching Moscow with great rapidity, their average rate being twenty versts in twenty-four hours. If the Russians were again defeated there was no possibility of retreat, because of the interposing River Moskva; and the army would consequently be annihilated by the superior strength of the enemy.

So in this memorable council, after a long dispute between Barclay de Tolly and Benningsen, by a final vote Kutuzov decided to abandon Moscow without a battle. "With the loss of Moscow," said Kutuzov, "Russia is not ruined, so long as the army survives. I see that I shall have to answer for everything, but I am willing to sacrifice myself for what I think the good of the country. I give the order to retire," added he, rising up from his chair. Then, pensive and sad, he walked up and down the cottage, where he had remained when the other generals had retired. An officer in close attendance upon him tried to dissipate his melancholy. "Where shall we stop?" the officer inquired. Kutuzov suddenly burst into a passion, struck the table with his fist, and said: "This is my doing; but I will soon make the accursed French eat horse flesh, as I made the Turks do last year." The old man throughout the night kept discussing the matter with tears in his eyes. In reality he gave up Moscow so that the wolf might fall into a trap; when he had so fallen the Russian army would be prepared to deal with him.

The following curious notice was posted up in the streets by the orders of Rostoptchin, the governor, whom we have already mentioned among the favorites of Paul:

"The most illustrious prince, Kutuzov, has passed Mozhaisk, and united with the rest of the troops. He has taken up a strong position, where the enemy cannot attack him suddenly. We shall send him forty-eight cannon, and he says that he will defend Mos-

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cow to the last drop of blood. He is ready to fight in the streets. Do not be grieved, brothers, that the courts of justice are closed. We must arrange matters, and we will settle with the miscreants after their own fashion. I hope brave young men will come from the towns and villages. The ax is useful; the pike is also useful; but the three-pronged fork is better than anything. A Frenchman is not heavier than a sheaf of rye. To-morrow I shall take the icon of the Holy Virgin of Iveria to the Catherine Hospital, and it will heal both the sick and wounded. I am now well; one of my eyes was bad, but now I see with both." Such was the strange language of this humorist, who had for some time previously been writing attacks upon the French. He represented the old Russian party, which hated foreigners, and, like Suvarov, affected to use the language of the peasants.

When a young man was caught foolishly circulating a notice of Napoleon, he caused him to be thrown into the midst of the mob, who tore him to pieces. How far the man had really intended to circulate the French proclamation is not clear. Some authorities hold that he was merely showing off his knowledge of foreign languages by translating from the foreign newspapers which had come by post. Under any circumstances he committed an act of egregious folly, and paid dearly for it.

When the inhabitants found out that the Russian troops had retreated from Borodino to Moscow, there was great consternation. Every man began to look out for himself, and the selfishness of despair prevailed everywhere. All respect for persons was at an end. One man buried his wealth in the corner of a courtyard; another concealed it in his cellar, or built it up in a wall. The serfs who helped him to do so in many cases afterward dug it up for their own profit. Few of the original owners ever regained their property, it being either burned or stolen. Those who owned horses were in the best case, because they could carry off their possessions; but, on the other hand, they were liable to have their horses requisitioned for the service of the government. The most painful spectacle was presented in the case of those tradesmen who had passed all their lives in their shops, which were well stored with goods. These were unwilling to abandon their wares, and had no means of carrying them away. Accordingly, as they would not allow them to remain for the French to enjoy, they offered them as a gift to any who chose to accept them. All wished to

leave Moscow as soon as possible. People were everywhere to be seen quitting the city on foot, heavily laden with sacks and bags. There was universal confusion. It was like a vast parade, as an aged lady who had herself witnessed it once described it to the writer.

The exodus, as was natural, took place on the opposite side of the city to that by which it was expected the enemy would enter; and at the barriers the confusion was naturally much increased; the shouts of the crowd blended with cries of pain and abuse. With the whole city at their mercy, thieves and pickpockets seized their opportunity; they had all Moscow for their hunting-ground. Barefooted ruffians carried all before them, and served their country by turning incendiaries.

But although Rostoptchin had issued his misleading notice, and talked in a vague way about the Russian troops making a stand at Moscow, he was removing the government property as fast as he could. The rougher part of the populace now began to break into the liquor shops, and to stab all foreigners whom they came across. A report was spread that Rostoptchin had ordered the citizens to assemble at a place called the Three Hills, with such weapons as they could get hold of, and that he would lead them in person. The citizens, however, stood there in crowds, awaiting his arrival in vain; and it was not until the darkness of night came upon them that they dispersed.

On the night of September 13 Rostoptchin learned definitely that Moscow was to be abandoned to the French. Carriages were at once prepared to transport the sick. The police began to burn the corn, forage, and stores which could not be carried away; the casks of wine were broken up; and debauchery and drunkenness prevailed throughout the night. Toward morning the agitation of the people reached its height. Huge crowds assembled in front of the house of the commander in chief, urging him to lead them against the French.

Rostoptchin now found himself in a position of great difficulty. He proceeded to release the prisoners, and then, amid the murmurs of the populace, delegated all authority to the commander in chief, and left the city for his country house just as the French were beginning to appear on the heights. The people were soon to see what the actual plans of Rostoptchin were. He certainly did not seek his country house with a view to hiding

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himself there, for he shortly set fire to it to prevent its falling into the hands of the French. All vessels on the Moskva which contained stores were now blown up, and the noise of the explosions still further terrified the people.

Two hundred thousand of the inhabitants left Moscow in two days. On the morning of September 14 Kutuzov had hardly succeeded in forcing his way through the barrier on the road to Riazan. Meanwhile the enemy was approaching the Kaluga barrier. The greater part of the Russian troops marched quietly enough through the deserted city, but the garrison of the Kremlin was accompanied by a band. This seemed very inappropriate, and roused murmurings among the soldiers and inhabitants generally. The fiery Miloradovitch, afterward to die by the hands of a Dekabrist, turned with a rebuke to the general who commanded. "If a garrison on the surrender of a fortress is allowed to depart," answered the simple general, "it goes out with music. Such was the rule laid down by Peter the Great." "But did Peter the Great lay down the rule about the surrender of Moscow?" cried out Miloradovitch. "Bid your music cease." Thus Moscow, with her golden cupolas, after having been spared such an indignity for two centuries, was surrendered to an enemy once more. It had been in the hands of the Poles in 1612.

On September 15 Napoleon gazed upon the city from the Poklonnaya Hills. As he surveyed it through his telescope he is recorded to have said, "There it is at last—that celebrated city. Now the war is finished." He sent Murat with some officers to arrange a triumphant entry for him. At the same time the congratulations he received, and the feeling that he had triumphed over all obstacles, seemed to cause him some emotion. At the Dragomilovski barrier he got off his horse and walked up and down. He seemed to have an idea that a deputation would come out to him from the city. He probably meditated the utterance of some of those sonorous and epigrammatic sentences which on previous occasions had resounded throughout Europe. He had doubtless many in readiness for the Russians, but they were destined to be uttered under less favorable circumstances. The hours passed, but nobody arrived. He then began to lose patience, walking up and down in great agitation, and looking round on all sides. He frowned, took off and put on his gloves, and nervously squeezed his pocket-handkerchief.

The searches made by those whom he sent had been useless: the streets were all deserted. Not more than 10,000 inhabitants remained, and they had hidden themselves in terror.

The French officers succeeded at last in collecting some foreigners who were living in Moscow, and among them a French bookseller. These were all brought before Napoleon. "Who are you?" said the emperor, turning to the bookseller. "A Frenchman settled in Moscow." "That is to say, my subject. Where is the senate?" "It has gone away." "And the governor?" "He has gone away." "Where are the people?" "There are no people." "Who is there in the city?" "Nobody." "It can't be so." "I swear it is so, on my honor." "Be silent," and the emperor frowned, and was himself silent. Then, in his anger, he ordered the deputation to be driven off. This striking scene has formed the subject of a picture by the painter Vereshchagin.

Napoleon, however, refused to believe that Moscow was deserted, and ordered a cannon to be fired as a signal for the troops to march into the city. Mounting his horse he himself entered by the Dragomilovski barrier. The soldiers at once made preparations to go into the city, and ranged themselves round the Poklonnaya Hills, where Napoleon then was, and also along the River Moskva. They had now before them the white-walled city, sparkling in the sunshine with its many-colored cupolas and towers. It was indeed a picturesque sight. They waved their caps with joy and with shouts of delight obeyed the signal of the gun.

Miloradovitch meanwhile covered the retreat of the Russian army. It took some time to get out of the city, as the streets were blocked with abandoned goods. He proposed to Murat, who commanded the French advance guard, to suspend hostilities for a few hours so as to give the French free passage. If this were not granted he declared that he would fight till the last man and only leave smoking ruins. Murat agreed.

The streets were thus quite empty when the French entered; none but the very lowest class of vagabonds, beggars, and thieves remained, flitting about like specters, ready for any acts of lawlessness.

Many interesting accounts have been preserved by Russians who were witnesses of the scenes, among which we may mention several chapters in the memoirs of Herzen, and some striking diaries printed a few years ago in the "*Russkii Arkhiv.*" So

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much has been written on the French side that it is especially interesting to read how Russia confronted this terrible onset.

As the French guard entered the Kremlin a strange scene was enacted. The first division was passing through the gates under the Nikolski tower when a peasant rushed out and laid hold of the leading officer, rolled him over in the mud, and fastened his teeth in his throat. The man seems to have taken him for Napoleon, thinking that none but the emperor himself would be allowed to have the honor of riding first into the Kremlin. This unwelcome surprise was followed by a heavy fire from some concealed sharpshooters, and the French found themselves called upon to face a shower of bullets. The Polish Uhlans in the French service soon put an end to this, though the event gave rise to a feeling of great insecurity.

The first night (September 15) Napoleon spent in the Dragomilovskaya Sloboda, which was then a very poor quarter, consisting almost entirely of inns. He is said to have suffered a great deal from the filthiness of his surroundings, and to have been constantly waking his valet to pay attention to him during the night. He left the next day without paying anything, according to the right of the conqueror.

On September 16, in very disagreeable weather, he entered the Kremlin, where his guard was stationed, and took up his abode in the palace. The snare into which he had allowed himself to fall became evident. When night fell it was observed that many parts of the city were on fire. Soon a terrible conflagration was raging round the Kremlin itself, and was increased by the strong wind which had sprung up. Churches burst out into flame, to be followed quickly by the houses of rich Russian magnates, the bridges over the Moskva, and the vessels on the river. From the windows of the palace the amazed emperor saw a sheet of flame all round him; Moscow was being destroyed. The Russians, after carrying off what they could, had left the emptied city to be given as a prey to the flames. "These are Scythians, indeed!" he exclaimed. "Moscow no longer exists; the Russians are burning it themselves! What a people!"

Peril was not long in threatening the person of the emperor himself. He could no longer stand at the windows, the panes of which were breaking all around him, while flaming fragments were blown into the Kremlin, in the squares of which the ammuni-

tion had been piled up. Napoleon ordered incendiaries to be seized where possible, and accordingly twenty-five miserable wretches were arrested and dragged before a military court. Of these, twelve were shot in the square of the Kremlin and the remainder sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. The fires had been undoubtedly carefully organized, and there is reason to believe that the city was set on fire by the express orders of Rostoptchin. In the latter part of his life—in accordance with his strange paradoxical character—he seems to have denied having issued the order, but no one has given credence to this denial. It is certain that nothing has ever transpired to show that the step was directly ordered by the tsar. Rostoptchin may, however, have received and acted upon some secret hint from him. Alexander would scarcely have allowed it to become publicly known that he burned his own capital. Some writers, however, still think that the fire was accidental. Rostoptchin, they say, might have simplified matters if he had been desirous of burning the city by setting fire to the powder preserved in the Kremlin. The fire had broken out in places where it was least to be expected; and, in spite of the strict watch which was kept, the interior of the Kremlin itself as well as the stables of the palace burst into flames. Napoleon was compelled amid the smoke and stench of the burning streets to quit Moscow on the following day, September 17, for the sake of fresh air. He made for the Petrovski palace, just outside the city, but had great difficulty in getting there although guided by a police-agent.

He was now in a state of complete gloom, oppressed by the vast solitude and the all-devouring flames. He had, moreover, terrible forebodings of famine. The farther he had advanced the more the country had been devastated, while the conflagration only came to an end on October 1. The French troops were allowed to plunder the city. Rostoptchin had arranged that the sacred furniture from the churches should as far as possible be removed, as also the government archives. There had not been time, however, to carry off all the valuables, and much booty remained for the invaders. The French, as they had done elsewhere, seemed to take a special delight in destroying the historical monuments of the country. Thus the cross was taken from the belfry of Ivan the Great with the intention of sending it to France as a trophy, but before the invaders got out of the country they were glad to leave it behind. It was thrown into a lake, which was afterward drained,

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and the historic cross was thus rescued and replaced in its old position. In the churches the most scandalous desecration was allowed; the bones of the saints were thrown out of their coffins and the buildings stripped of all ornaments, from cupola to floor. In the Arkhangelski Sobor the Russians on their return found traces of orgies, the whole building being defiled with the stains of wine. In the Kremlin churches stores of oats, hay, and straw had been piled up for the horses. In the Verkho-Spasski Sobor the altar had been used as a dining-table, and that of the Kazan cathedral had been thrown out into the square, and a horse stalled in its place. Davout, who lived in the Novodievitchii convent, and remained in the Kremlin so as to be at hand to present reports to Napoleon, used to sleep on the high altar in the cathedral of the Chudovo monastery.

In the Petrovski and Danilov monasteries slaughter-houses were erected, and all the space within the walls was deluged with blood and defiled with the raw flesh of oxen. In the Bogoyavlenski monastery the French dragged about an aged priest by the hair of his head in order to make him confess where the treasures were hidden. It was truly a terrible time for such of the clergy as were compelled to stay behind. In the Novospasski, the priest Nicodemus was made to kneel; on each side of him French soldiers stood with drawn swords, threatening him with instant death if he did not disclose where the valuables of the monastery were concealed; and the priest of the Sorokosviatski church died of fright. As so many houses had been destroyed it was not easy for all the French soldiers to find quarters, and this would account for their occupation of the churches for themselves and their horses. The weather, which in the beginning of September had been somewhat wet, was now mild. The conflagrations had not been confined to the city, but had extended to the suburbs, where many of the splendid mansions of the Russian nobility had been burned. Rostoptchin had himself fired his own country house, as Sir Robert Wilson has narrated in his memoirs. Wilson accompanied the Russian army, and tells us how Rostoptchin, who was a widower, gave him a torch and entreated him to set fire to his late wife's boudoir, as he could not summon courage to do it himself.

The autumn nights were now beginning to be cold. The French do not seem to have realized what was in store for them.

The soldiers made large fires of icons, books, valuable pictures, and furniture. Sometimes they made a path through the snow in the courts of the Russian houses by walking on the outspread backs of huge folios. Several valuable manuscripts were destroyed in this way. In the Krasnaya Plotschad the soldiers practiced shooting at marks, and the marks were generally icons.

Napoleon himself, however, would seem to have set a good example to his soldiers as regards the treatment of the sacred buildings, and it is also to be remembered that the invading army comprised troops of many nationalities. In Smolensk, when he went into the Uspenski Sobor, he took off his hat, and caused the building to be respected. His orders were strictly carried out, and on the return journey of the French through Smolensk the sentry was the last person who left the cathedral. In Moscow he protected the Foundling Hospital, where lay about 2000 wounded men; and in some of the churches he even allowed the services to be performed.

Napoleon foolishly lingered five weeks among the ruins of Moscow, though he felt that he must retreat, and his only object now was to do so without dishonor. The foraging parties were able to procure but few supplies, in spite of treating the peasants everywhere with the greatest brutality. The latter were being constantly brought into Moscow in batches, there to be shot. They all died in the most stoical fashion, although these executions were ordained *in terrorem,* in consequence of the poor creatures having concealed their little property. In these savage reprisals many of Napoleon's allies acted more cruelly than his own troops—the Bavarians especially. But the nemesis was at hand.

When Alexander heard of the burning of Moscow from a messenger sent by Kutuzov, he burst into tears, and exclaimed: "Oh, God! what misfortunes; I conclude from this all that will happen to us; that Providence requires from us great sacrifices —from me especially. I am ready to submit to His will. Tell the world, that, if I have not a soldier left, I will summon my faithful nobility and my good villagers. I will myself lead them, and employ every means which my empire can boast. Russia affords me more resources than my enemies think. But if it is decreed by fate and the providence of God that my family should rule no longer on the throne of my ancestors, then, having exhausted all my resources, I will grow a beard and live on bread

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in the wilds of Siberia, rather than subscribe to the shame of my country and my good subjects, whose self-sacrifice I know how to value. God is now trying us; let us hope he will not leave us. Either Napoleon or I—I or Napoleon; but we cannot rule together. I have already learned his character; he will deceive me no more."

Napoleon vainly endeavored to open negotiations with him; the tsar vouchsafed no reply to his overtures. On September 19, when the conflagration had abated, Napoleon returned from the palace of Petrovski to the Kremlin. On his way thither he noticed how the French soldiers were wrecking the houses that remained standing, and throwing from the windows into the streets valuable pictures and furniture; while they compelled their Russian prisoners with blows to load their vehicles with plunder of all kinds —plunder which eventually proved such a hindrance to them during the retreat.

Napoleon had given orders that the Kremlin was to be kept clean, and was accordingly greatly annoyed at the filth which had been allowed to accumulate in his absence. During his occasional rides through the city the Russians hid themselves, but once a troop of mendicants ventured to approach him up to their knees in mud, and entreated him for alms, but he paid no attention to them.

At length, on October 11, an appeal to the inhabitants was issued:

"Peaceable inhabitants of Moscow, both masters and workmen, whom misfortunes have driven from the city, and you, owners of land, whom an unfounded fear keeps away, listen. Peace is returning to this capital, and order is being restored in it. Your countrymen come boldly from their retreats. They see that they are respected. All acts of violence committed against them and their property are immediately punished. The emperor protects them, and he considers none among you his enemies, except those who disobey his orders. He wishes to put an end to your sufferings, and will restore you to your homes and to your families. Respond to his benevolent measures, and come without any risk. Return with confidence to your dwellings; you will soon find the means of satisfying your wants. Artisans and industrious workmen, return to your work: your houses and shops await you, and there will be troops to protect you. You shall receive the proper

reward of your work. Peasants, come out of the woods where you have hidden yourselves through terror. Return without fear to your cottages in the sure conviction that you will find protection. Provision shops have been established in the city where the peasants can bring what they have to sell." (Napoleon seems to have intended paying for all these commercial schemes by forged ruble notes.)

The proclamation was followed by the appointment of market days, and every possible attempt was made to restore the old current of trade. Both in coming into the town and going back to the villages the peasants were to be protected, notwithstanding that the blood of so many of them had previously been wantonly shed. But with all his efforts Napoleon seems to have been unable to make his troops respect his orders; robberies were continual; tradesmen and peasants alike profoundly mistrusted him; meanwhile, continually trying to negotiate, through some high officers whom he had taken prisoners, he showed plainly enough that his position was an insecure one. He sent a special messenger to Kutuzov with a flag of truce, saying that he was really friendly to the tsar and did not wish to fight with the Russians. He had only wished to enforce the Berlin Decree so as to prevent the English enriching themselves at the public expense. The Russians, however, could not be made to appreciate the friendship of a man who had a drawn sword in his hand; and as for the cause of the war they could not understand that in any way they were fighting for the English. The bearer of the flag of truce was sent back without an answer. Kutuzov was even forbidden by the emperor to receive any offer of peace. It was at this time that Krilov composed his fable of the wolf in the dog-kennel. A Russian writer says that to the popular mind Napoleon had somewhat of the appearance of a wolf. He generally wore a long gray coat over his uniform, and a three-cornered hat with points which made him look to the peasants like a wolf with long ears.

Meanwhile some Russian soldiers disguised as tradesmen made their appearance in Moscow. Kutuzov had sent them to spread reports among the French to the effect that the Russians were reduced to great extremities, that Platov was ready to play the traitor, and that there were still twenty-six regiments of Cossacks at Tarutino. These pseudo-tradesmen offered to furnish Napoleon with provisions at a cheap rate; not, however, that there was any

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intention of doing so, but solely with the object of inducing him to protract his stay until the winter came on. They continued to make careful reports of the condition of the French army.

Napoleon was daily falling deeper into the trap. The Russian guerrilla bands were beginning to cause him great trouble. These consisted chiefly of desperate peasants, serfs, and regular soldiers under the irregular command of nobles and officers, and displayed for the most part much dexterity and boldness. Small detachments of cavalry, under the command of the ablest officers, moved quietly from place to place, and fell upon the French when the latter ventured out of Moscow in quest of provisions. All along the road from Smolensk to Moscow flying bodies of horse seized the supplies and arms of the enemy, and intercepted the messengers sent to and by Napoleon. Among these commanders was Captain Figner, a leader especially conspicuous for his prowess. He was a handsome, vigorous man of about twenty-four years of age, with bright eyes and a full face: he spoke French like a Frenchman and made use of it constantly to mislead the enemy. He frequently would lead his troop up to the very walls of the city; when, having concealed his men somewhere in a wood, he would disguise himself as a French officer and set out to the enemy's front ranks. On one of these occasions, we read, he reprimanded the French patrols for their carelessness, telling them that a party of Cossacks had appeared close at hand. At another time he told them that the Russians were occupying such and such a village, and that it would be necessary to seek provisions in another direction. Thus he became acquainted with the movements of the enemy, and not infrequently succeeded in leading them to where his own concealed troop could cut them to pieces. The name of Figner soon became well known to the French, and a large price was set upon his head. Napoleon even placed artillery to lie in wait for him on the Smolensk road, but nothing seemed to daunt his brave spirit. We hear of him attacking the bivouac of a French regiment, and taking prisoner the colonel and fifty men. His daily average of prisoners was from 200 to 300 men. Even when things went badly for him he understood how to get out of his difficulties. On one occasion, when surrounded in a wood with troops everywhere in front of him and a vast morass in his rear, the French thought that he was in their power at last, and arranged their bivouac so that he could not escape. But Figner during the night managed

by means of poles to put himself into communication with a neighboring village, the inhabitants of which constructed a path over the marsh with planks and straw, and thus he effected his escape with all his horses and men. In the morning the astonished French could not conceive what had become of Figner and his troop. They tried to cross the marsh, but their horses sank up to their necks, and by the time they were extricated all trace of Figner was lost.

The inhabitants of the villages of course assisted these flying bands. They hid their families and provisions in the woods, and formed companies among themselves, choosing retired soldiers for their leaders, and keeping close guard in the villages. Everyone who entered the village was closely observed and interrogated. Sentries were placed in the belfries of the churches to sound the alarm whenever the enemy appeared. The peasants were everywhere on the alert, and whenever the enemy showed themselves in small numbers did not hesitate to attack them, armed with weapons of the most miscellaneous character. The bodies of those who were killed were cast into pits and ponds. If the enemy were numerous, the peasants retreated farther into the woods.

Even to unarmed enemies there was but little quarter shown. The order had been given not to spare the French; and, indeed, little encouragement was needed, even among the women, to wreak a mad vengeance, which is perhaps scarcely to be wondered at when we consider the sufferings they had undergone at the hands of the invader.

Early on the morning of October 19 Napoleon left Moscow, riding out through the Kaluga gate. Before taking his departure he vented his spite on the city. He ordered Marshal Mortier to blow up the Kremlin, with all the most important monuments and buildings, and to burn everything in the rear of the army as they advanced.

In what condition the French army left Moscow we shall see later, from the accounts of eyewitnesses. The number of soldiers who set out from the ruined city was not less than 105,000, and with them were also families to the number of 10,000, for the most part of various nationalities, but chiefly French, who dreaded the popular vengeance if they remained behind.

On every side were to be seen vehicles of all kinds, loaded with the most promiscuous booty, of which the plate and ornaments from the churches formed a large portion. According to Labaume the

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long files of carriages extended for several leagues. When about ten versts from Moscow, Napoleon breakfasted. He boasted meanwhile that having sent the wounded from Moscow to Mozhaisk, on their way to France, he had rescued them from death at the hands of the barbarous Russians. His first idea was to march southward to Kaluga, where he might get supplies and find fresh districts to ravage. He was now, however, making for the direction of Maloyaroslavets.

When the Russian general, Benningsen, who was stationed at Klin, heard of the departure of Napoleon from Moscow, and the orders that had been given for blowing up the Kremlin, he went in the company of Captain Narishkin with a flag of truce to Moscow to do what he could to stop the destruction. But at the Tverskaya he was taken prisoner. At midnight on October 23 Mortier set fire to the arsenal of the Kremlin and other buildings. A violent explosion took place, followed by six others; the dvorets was blown up, as was the Granitovaya Palata, a building closely adjoining the belfry of Ivan the Great, and the arsenal. The walls of the Kremlin were also injured in many places, but the churches there were preserved. So, too, was the Novodievitchii monastery. Here the French had lived as in a fortress, bringing with them large casks of wine. They offered no insults to the aged nuns, but as they left they scattered lighted candles about the building. A quantity of powder also was placed under the sobor with a long fuse attached, and to this they set fire. The nuns, however, succeeded in extinguishing the flames before they had spread very far; and fortunately in the early morning, while passing the sobor, they noticed the burning match and quenched it; so that, owing to what was an accidental circumstance, the whole monastery remained unscathed.

Chapter XII

NAPOLEON'S RETREAT FROM MOSCOW. 1812

NAPOLEON, still anxious to pose as a conqueror before Europe, now proclaimed to the world in a bulletin that Moscow no longer existed. No sooner, however, had Mortier withdrawn his men from Moscow than it was occupied by the advance guard of the Russian militia under the command of Prince Shakovski. They had been employed till then in transporting the wounded in great numbers between Klin and Tver. Shakovski used afterward to tell how he entered the city by the Iverian gate—the first of the returning Russians, with a small party of Cossacks, two orderlies, and a tchinovnik. He passed on foot a deserted chapel, in which, two months before, he had listened to a solemn service of intercession for the deliverance of Russia from her foes; and stumbled at the very gates over the dead body of a Spaniard, to judge by the uniform. Orders had been given to the Russians to spare the Spaniards, inasmuch as at this time Spain was engaged in fighting against France. Shakovski was eager to enter the Kremlin, as it was already growing dark. He found the Spasski gates locked from inside, and the Nikolski gates obstructed by a broken piece of the wall. He accordingly climbed over by the help of two hussars. He called out to the Cossacks, who had just witnessed one explosion, and were hesitating, through fear of another, to follow him. They at once obeyed, and stood by his side in front of the burning palace, and the Granitovaya Palata, watching the last sparks expire in the darkness of the night.

The writer of this interesting account goes on to tell how he went into the churches and caused the icons and the rest of the sacred furniture to be restored to their places as far as was possible. He also tells of the vast heaps of corpses and dead horses inside the Kremlin. These, however, were soon cleared away, for as the peasants came up with their carts to carry off any plunder which they could get, Count Benkendorf requisitioned the vehicles to remove the bodies to places where they could be buried, or in

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some other way got rid of so as to avoid a plague. After three days had been spent in this manner, preparations were made for the celebration of a solemn liturgy. Only one large church was found to be suitable, so the great bell of the Strastnoi monastery pealed forth the glad tidings over the ruined city. The tears burst forth from every eye when the bells, which had been the glory and comfort of Moscow, were once more heard. The porches and passages of the churches were crowded. No such service had been celebrated since the famous time when Pozharski and Minin had driven the Poles from Russia in 1612. After 200 years the country had once more experienced a terrible crisis. An eye-witness has recorded for us the impressive scene, how, when the choir sang, "Oh, Lord of Heaven our Comforter," all present, magistrates, soldiers, nobles, and peasants, even Bashkirs and Kalmucks, fell on their knees, their sobs blending with the holy singing and the pealing of the bells.

We must now return to Kutuzov. On leaving Moscow he had stationed himself for a considerable time on the Riazan road; having gone as far as the Moskva, he waited to see whether there was to be another engagement. He then went by way of the town of Podolsk to Tarutino, whither he was followed by Miloradovitch. The latter would seem to have been very near trying conclusions with Murat; they at all events exchanged words. Murat spoke in a conciliatory manner, but Miloradovitch replied that he must not talk to him or it would displease the soldiers; and Murat appears to have thenceforward lost sight of the Russian forces. Kutuzov remained for nearly a month in the village of Tarutino on the road from Moscow to Kaluga, with the River Nara in front of him. It was an excellent defensive position, being intersected by pits and rivers; and in case of attack there was open ground before the army, extending for some versts. There he awaited the French, and received reports about their movements. Many other generals joined him here, and the camp became the rallying-place for the Russian forces. Here, too, was to be found the poet Zhukovski, the laureate of the war.

On the night of October 22 a messenger came to Kutuzov at Tarutino from Dokhtorov with the news that Napoleon had quitted Moscow, and was retreating by the new Kaluga road. Kutuzov raised himself up in bed and asked the officer to repeat his message. On hearing it he burst into tears, and immediately

sent orders to Dokhtorov to hasten with all possible speed to Maloyaroslavets: a most important move, which, as we shall see, eventually decided the issue of the war. The next day he marched in that direction with his own force. The French had come to Maloyaroslavets by Fominskoe and Borovsk, the object of Napoleon being to secure for his troops a convenient route through the southern governments. At Maloyaroslavets there were altogether only three sotnias of Cossacks. The fortifications were but trifling. When Bikorski, the mayor of the little town, heard of the approach of the French he burned the bridge over the River Luzha, which flows through it. The commander of the French advance guard, General Delzons, immediately set about constructing a pontoon bridge; but the place was saved by the ingenuity of one of the citizens named Bielayev. He conceived the bold plan of holding back the invading force by flooding all the lower lands surrounding the town through which the French would have to go. Amid cheering he led the inhabitants to the dam, and by their help soon destroyed it. The liberated water at once rushed forth, and all the low-lying ground was flooded to the extent of seven versts. The pontoon bridge built by the French was dashed to pieces, and the débris carried down the river. Thrown out in their calculations by this clever maneuver, the French were compelled to remain inactive for twenty-four hours while endeavoring to effect a crossing by other means, thus giving time for the Russian forces to assemble. The action of Bielayev had saved the half of southern Russia. The hetman Platov reached Maloyaroslavets with the Cossacks of the Don. and immediately afterward the corps of Dorokhov arrived.

The town was already in the possession of the French, but Dorokhov's brigade of chasseurs drove them out at the point of the bayonet. The French renewed the attack, and then the whole corps of Dokhtorov came up, and a severe engagement took place, the town changing hands no less than six times. The battle was fought under the very eyes of Napoleon, who fully realized the importance of the situation. For a long time Dokhtorov had to struggle alone, but eventually Kutuzov with the main army made his appearance. Napoleon then moved up the division of Pino, the Italian guard, and the corps of Davout. There ensued a most sanguinary struggle in the streets of the little town among the burning houses. Kutuzov had sent Rayevski to help Dokhtorov.

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The French were again in possession of the town; the Russians several times had nearly driven them out, but were repulsed by a deadly fire from the batteries which Napoleon had posted on the left bank of the river. The troops from Tarutino now appeared on the Kaluga road, and Kutuzov, having surveyed the position, ordered Konovnitsin to drive the enemy out of Maloyaroslavets. This the latter succeeded in doing, and occupied the greater part of the town. At eleven o'clock the engagement came to an end.

At four o'clock on the morning of the following day Platov, who with his Cossack regiments was on the left wing, crossed the Luzha and quickly came along the main road on to the rear of the French. The quarters of Napoleon were about ten versts away, in the little town of Gorodnia. It was from this place that he watched eagerly to see if Kutuzov would come, and he was not a little disconcerted when he saw the glitter of the bayonets approaching.

On October 25 Napoleon remained in sight of Maloyaroslavets in a state of perplexity. After much hesitation he thought of going to Medin and Yukhnov. It seemed certain that he would now have to fight another great battle, as Kutuzov blocked his road. A general engagement was confidently expected on both sides. When he returned to his quarters he studied the map for about an hour without saying a word. He then announced his determination to go to St. Petersburg, and even in his dispatches to Paris professed to find the Russian weather very agreeable. But when he came to ask his marshals what they thought of the matter, Mouton said plainly that they must get back to France by way of Mozhaisk and Smolensk as soon as they could. When information was brought to him that Kutuzov had moved his army to Kaluga, Napoleon sat by the fire for some time in meditation, and then ordered his troops to march by the road to Smolensk and Gzhatsk, thus pronouncing the death sentence of the French army. Instead of traversing regions where they could get provisions, they were obliged to retrace their steps through devastated districts and ruined villages.

From Borovsk and Maloyaroslavets Napoleon turned in the direction of Borodino, thus once more compelling his troops to traverse that field fraught with such terrible memories. The Russians were hanging on his rear. Wittgenstein advanced by the

north, Tchitchagov by the south, and Platov and his Cossacks hovered behind. Kutuzov marched parallel with the French columns, wisely avoiding an engagement, but perpetually harassing them. The sights which awaited them on the field of Borodino were truly appalling. The bodies of the slain still lay about in vast numbers, and in many cases the lives of the wounded had to all appearance been protracted for some time in great agony. At the town of Vereia on October 27 Napoleon ordered the Russian prisoners, General Benningsen and Captain Narishkin, to be brought to him. He received Benningsen with severity, because he concluded from his name that he was a Saxon or Bohemian, and told him that as he was his subject he ought not to be in the Russian service. He more than once gave orders for him to be shot, but each time rescinded the sentence. On the other hand, he praised Narishkin as a Russian for his good service to Russia. The prisoners were sent to Metz, but were rescued on the Russian frontier by a guerrilla leader, Colonel Chemishev. Soon afterward Napoleon left Vereia and proceeded to Gzhatsk. Now for the first time on any of his expeditions he rode in a vehicle, and wore a warm green pelisse of Polish make. In the monastery of Kolotsk he inspected the French wounded who had been sent from Moscow, and expressed great displeasure at the way in which they had been robbed by their comrades. On October 29 Napoleon left Gzhatsk for Viazma; the night of October 30 he spent in a church of the village of Velichevo. He now began to realize that he must make straight for Smolensk. He entertained the idea that abundance of provisions would be found there, for he had given directions for them to be stored. Platov with his Cossacks, and Miloradovitch with 20,000 infantry and cavalry, had been sent by Kutuzov to pursue the French on their way from Gzhatsk. Kutuzov was himself following, and had plenty of supplies. The rear guard of the French army was simultaneously attacked on both sides by Miloradovitch and Platov, but unsuccessfully.

The French entered Viazma and were followed soon afterward by the peasants and guerrilla bands under their leaders, Seslavin and Figner. The town was set on fire. Even so late as the fifties it showed signs of the ravages committed. Wilson, who was an eyewitness, has given us a very graphic account of the destruction of this town. The French abandoned large numbers of wagons, and in order to facilitate their retreat, set fire to

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those parts which had escaped in former conflagrations. In doing so great numbers of their own sick and wounded were burned alive; in one church alone several hundred thus perished, and many of these had to endure the additional suffering of being first mangled by an explosion of shells. It was not known whether these had been left accidentally or by design. The Russians held the opinion that it had been purposely arranged to destroy them. The universal suspicion increased the ferocity of the promiscuous carnage.

At Viazma 4000 French were killed and 3000 captured. A flag was taken, as well as three guns. Toward the beginning of November the cold increased in severity. One of the Russian officers has recorded how a tall and lean German came to his tent and made an effort to warm himself at his fire. His face was as black as his clothing. His head was wrapped in rags, and his feet were in a sack. He only uttered "Have pity upon me and give me some bread." The officer allowed him to sit near his fire, enemy though he was. He expressed the greatest gratitude on getting a little biscuit soaked in hot water. He vehemently cursed Napoleon. Soon afterward a Frenchman, also starving, came up and asked for something to eat. An ax was given him, with which he was bidden to cut a piece of flesh from a dead horse that was lying not far off, but his hands were too weak to cut the frozen carcass. He threw down the ax in despair, and sank to the ground muttering, "It is clear I must die."

On the way from Viazma to Smolensk the great shrinkage of Napoleon's army became apparent. The cold was severer than the thinly clothed French could bear; the shoes of the horses, shod in the French way, slipped and became quite useless. The carts with the plunder from Moscow had to be abandoned. Many famishing Frenchmen threw away their arms and spent the night around fires made on the hard ground. When these fires burned themselves out, they were frozen to death, whereupon any surviving companions hastened to strip off their clothes and boots. Many sank down on the road and suffered a similar fate. "Once," says an eyewitness, "we found a fair-haired young officer in a thin blue uniform and three-cornered hat: his eyes were half-closed, his head was bent aside, and a deadly pallor was spread over his handsome face. He pressed his right hand to his heart, but could answer nothing to our inquiries. Suddenly his eyes became fixed,

and he expired before us. And in France those who loved him were no doubt awaiting him."

The peasants frequently treated the straggling soldiers with great cruelty, drowning them, and sometimes even burying them alive. The exasperation of the villagers, keen as it was, was increased by the burning of the villages by the retreating army.

Early in November a winter of unusal severity, even for Russia, set in. The wind cut like a razor, and the frost reached as low as 15°. Kutuzov welcomed its arrival in one of his addresses to his troops. He knew well what such a winter meant to the invaders. At this time Napoleon with his guard passed Dorogobuzh. They had twelve degrees of frost now, and a deep snow fell. The corps of the viceroy, Eugène Beauharnais, was now detached from the main army, and turned to Dukhovstchina, with the view of uniting with the troops who had come from the Dwina. Owing to the deep snow they were hardly able to move. At every place where they rested for the night the men were frozen to death by hundreds, and eighty guns had to be abandoned. Everything was in a state of confusion, and discipline altogether disappeared. The soldiers in this corps, many of whom were natives of Italy or of other warm countries, seemed petrified, and wandered about like shadows. As the corps was crossing the River Vop it was attacked by Platov with his Don Cossacks, and completely defeated. Sixty-four more guns were lost, as well as all the baggage, and the greater part of the men. They were compelled to make for Smolensk.

On November 10 the guerrilla leaders, or partisans, as they were called, Seslavin and Figner, fell on another important French detachment on the Dukhovstchina road, and destroyed a great number, together with the commander and 200 officers. They took 1000 prisoners.

At length on the evening of November 11 Napoleon entered Smolensk. Here he had hoped to find abundance of provisions awaiting him, but, as supplies had to be collected against the will of the Russians, it was not an easy matter to procure them. The inhabitants were mercilessly plundered, and shot down if they hesitated in giving up their whole possessions.

At Smolensk, which is one of the most important strategic points in Russia, there were 25,000 soldiers of the ninth corps under the command of Gerard, and another 25,000 forming half

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the corps of Victor. The supply of provisions consequently proved quite inadequate; and rations were only furnished to the guards, the rest of the soldiers not being admitted into the town. Napoleon, when he heard to his dismay how the matter stood, is said to have ordered the commissioner to be shot for his negligence, but this did not make provisions more abundant. Moreover, the guerrilla companies, which were very numerous, impeded the collection of supplies. In the district of Gzhatsk, a man named Samus, a hussar of the Elizavetograd regiment, who had been compelled to leave the army through a wound which he had received, raised a band of peasants and courageously attacked all Frenchmen getting forage. On the recommendation of Miloradovitch he was made sergeant. There were other very valuable partisans in the neighboring villages who did a great deal to hamper the French movements. So also in the district of Youkhonsk and Roslavl great bravery was shown, and the ispravnik of the latter town was killed.

Meanwhile tidings reached Napoleon from all quarters that Kutuzov was marching upon Smolensk. He knew that it had been resolved at St. Petersburg to pursue him as long as he remained on Russian territory. He stayed three days at Smolensk, and collected there the whole of his force. It was impossible, however, to remain in the city; his only course was to retreat as soon as possible. Wittgenstein and Tchitchagov would soon join their forces. Miloradovitch and Platov had forced Ney to fight ten battles in as many days.

On the fourth day after coming to Smolensk Napoleon moved with his guards to Krasnoë, and ordered the remaining regiments to follow at once. The commander of the last regiment was ordered on going out of the town to burn everything which could not be carried away, and to blow up the walls and towers of the city. On November 17, on a starry and frosty night, the last French regiment defiled out of Smolensk, once the great frontier city of the Dnieper. At the same hour a glare was seen in the sky, and loud explosions were heard. No fewer than eight towers were blown up, and the old walls of the fortress were destroyed in many places. Some of these fissures remain to the present time. Many buildings which escaped the flames were demolished by the inhabitants themselves, who used the stones for building purposes. Smolensk thus became a heap of ruins.

The last detachment of the French army, which had destroyed the walls of Smolensk, under the command of Ney, had great difficulty in reaching Napoleon. With 8000 infantry, 300 cavalry, 12 guns, and 7000 unarmed men, surrounded on all sides by the Russians, Ney made a bold effort, expecting to find the emperor at Krasnoë. Not many miles from this place they came upon the corps of Miloradovitch. An engagement took place, and Miloradovitch, seeing the difficult position Ney was in, sent a flag of truce, proposing that he should lay down his arms. Ney, however, resolved to force his way through the Russian position at the point of the bayonet, with the result that he lost half his force, and was driven with the remnant to the Dnieper. Ney, however, did not lose heart. He collected his troops, to the number of about 3000, and, moving by cross roads to Orsha, got to the right bank of the Dnieper by crawling upon the thin ice. Everywhere his men were half buried in snow. In front of Orsha he was met by Platov with his Cossacks. Destruction now seemed inevitable, but Ney formed his men into two squares, sent his sharpshooters in front, and made for the village of Yakubovo. Here he occupied the houses, and defended himself with desperate obstinacy till a French detachment came from Orsha to his rescue. Under their escort Ney brought to Napoleon, who warmly commended the splendid feat he had accomplished, the remains of his corps, consisting of 900 men. There was severe fighting at Krasnoë. According to the Russian accounts, the French lost at least 26,000 men, who were prisoners, among the number being six generals. They also lost 116 guns, and the slain were never counted, owing to the great depth of the snow. It was difficult for the French to ascertain their losses accurately, as there were so many stragglers who had fallen out of the ranks or thrown away their arms, and others who had been killed by the guerrillas.

Napoleon had resolved no longer to await his last detachment, but retreated at full speed upon Orsha, still following the line of the Dnieper. The sufferings of the French now became greatly increased, and the cold more severe than ever. Many threw away their weapons, which were only an encumbrance, while, as the starving horses died by thousands, a great quantity of the cavalry had to be dismounted, and the artillery had to abandon their useless guns. The starving men greedily devoured the horseflesh. Everywhere was snow, everywhere the same pitiless sky, with the Rus-

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sians ever pursuing them and cutting off the stragglers. Sometimes they would light fires, into which they leaped mad with agony. Their ranks were getting thinner and thinner. Soon they began to lose all order and discipline. The men of different regiments and nationalities marched confusedly and rather after the fashion of an unarmed mob, than disciplined troops. Their clothes were ill-fitted for such severe weather. Their feet were not properly protected, and suffered greatly from the frosts. Many were without boots. The wretched men arrayed themselves as best they could in their plunder, some wearing the heavy priests' dresses, but these only encumbered them, enfeebled as they were through insufficient food and constant marching. They wrapped their legs with rags and handkerchiefs, and the débris of female attire; but the handkerchiefs became wet and stiff, and hindered them in walking. Sometimes Napoleon himself was to be seen, as Vereshchagin has painted him, grotesquely wrapped up in a woman's pelisse. The little towns through which the troops passed could not furnish any supplies of thick wearing apparel or boots. They had been plundered and burned when the army passed through them at the beginning of the campaign; and the tradesmen and peasants had carefully hidden whatever had been left. The infuriated villagers committed all kinds of atrocities, frequently burying their captives alive. In short, the invading army was rapidly melting away; the men died from hunger and cold, while many were ready to take their chance in captivity. Kutuzov was wise, in that he forbore to engage Napoleon in a general battle. He was no match for the military genius of the latter.

In a field close by Vitebsk Napoleon reviewed his beloved guard. It consisted entirely of Frenchmen. The ranks were thinned, and the men looked worn out. The emperor was dressed in a pelisse, but his army was in rags. He still kept up his spirits in spite of the difficult journey before him. He was like a wolf at bay. From the cavalry which remained he formed a special regiment, but even in this detachment the men were soon obliged to eat their horses. On their way from Orsha there was a slight thaw. In order to hamper the Russians, who were following them, the French burned the villages on every side, and so eager were they to do this that the leading regiments frequently left nothing for those that followed.

In order to secure his passage over the Beresina, Napoleon

ordered Marshal Oudinot at all costs to get possession of the town of Borisov, and Oudinot carried out his instructions. Tchitchagov, with 20,000 soldiers, was driven to the other bank of the Beresina, and on retreating destroyed the bridge behind him. He then established a powerful battery under the command of Dombrovski. Oudinot, meanwhile, spread abroad reports that Napoleon would cross below Borisov, and sent thither material for building a bridge, so as to lead Tchitchagov to suppose that he would have to encounter the French there. But Studianka was really the place at which Napoleon was aiming. Owing to some blunder the Russian general had not perceived this. There was only one regiment of infantry and a battery of artillery on the spot. In this way Tchitchagov was led into error, and the French were saved. Some authorities have blamed the Russian general for not having obtained more information as to the nature of the place. He has not escaped the satire of Krilov. On the road from Studianka to Vileika the bridges had not been destroyed, and the roads of fascines across the marshes and the River Gaïna, which intersected the enemy's path, had been allowed to remain.

On the road to Beresina Napoleon was joined by some regiments of Marshal Victor's corps. They had been sent by him at the beginning of the war to watch the road leading to St. Petersburg. These detachments do not seem to have suffered any privations, and were in pretty good order. This circumstance rejoiced Napoleon, but the detachments themselves were overwhelmed with horror at the condition of the *Grande Armée.*

On November 23 Napoleon ordered a number of the French eagles to be burned to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. He foresaw that the passage of the Beresina would be difficult. On the other side of the river were the Russian soldiers from Borisov; and he did not wish to run straight into their arms. A ford was found at Studianka, sixteen versts higher than Borisov. Here he ordered the engineer, Eblé, to make a bridge. The river, which is narrow and flows slowly between marshy banks with many windings, was then twice as broad and deep as usual owing to the floating ice; but the place was concealed from the Russians by a wood, and they failed to keep a careful watch. First of all, on a height commanding the passage, the French erected a powerful battery with fifty guns. Here was built on trestles the first bridge. On November 26, at one o'clock in the day, Napoleon sent across

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it the division of Dumergues, consisting of 4200 infantry and 1400 cavalry. As they passed him they shouted: "*Vive l'Empereur!*" They were followed by the junior guards. Another bridge was constructed at about 200 yards distance for the guns and wagons. In the night the bridges were twice broken, and three or four hours were consumed in the repairs. On the morning of November 27 the Old Guard crossed. Napoleon, who, up until the time of passing over the bridge, remained in a ruined cottage which boasted no window, crossed the river about 1 P. M. and took up his quarters in a hamlet on the other side. On November 26 and 27 he watched the passage of the detachments, his place being at times taken by Marshals Murat, Berthier, and Lauriston. When the passage of the river began, small parties of Russians had tried to stop the construction of the bridge, but Napoleon fully realized the crisis to which he had come. He directed the artillery to be employed, even to the last round of ammunition. At the discharge of the cannon the whole place seemed to shake, including the huge forests behind which lay the Russian troops. When some of the French soldiers hesitated to cross and remained behind the wagons, Napoleon ordered the wagons to be burned. The Russians came up from Borisov on the 28th, and thereupon a fierce battle took place between them and Partouneaux under the eyes of Napoleon. There were, however, plentv of his soldiers still on the bank to drive the Russians back into the forest. The battle lasted till nightfall, but during that day the French lost from 15,000 to 20,000 men. What remained of the soldiers of Eugène Beauharnais, Davout, and Junot, with the women and other fugitives, Napoleon gave into the care of Murat, and himself set out in twenty degrees of frost.

By this time the Russian forces under Wittgenstein, Platov, and Yermolov were approaching Ney, who commanded the rear guard, led his detachment back across the bridges, leaving one division, destined to certain destruction, to protect them from the advancing Russians. This division, amounting to 5000 men, was attacked on one side by Wittgenstein, and on the other by Platov, and finally laid down its arms. The remains of the corps of Ney moved across the river, and after them came Murat's broken cavalry, with his infantry, of whom only half had arms. Last of all came the remains of the corps of Davout, and with them a disorderly mob of unarmed fugitives. Under the strain of such a host the bridges broke, and thousands, including women and chil-

dren, were precipitated into the river. Some climbed on to the blocks of ice and endeavored to keep themselves afloat. The bridges were repaired by men standing in the water, but the people again crowded them and fell into the river. Wittgenstein then attacked. He posted his batteries, and began to shell the fugitives.

The French defended themselves with the courage of despair, but there was inconceivable panic on the bridges; the crowds pressed and trampled on each other. The Russian artillery plowed through whole ranks, until the night put a stop to the fighting. Then, under cover of the darkness, the last soldiers forced a way for themselves among the seething masses of their unarmed comrades. Many of these unfortunate creatures remained by the smoking heaps of the baggage. Here one might be seen stiffened by the frost; another baked by a huge fire; another had gone out of his mind, and could not be induced to stir from the place.

Thousands were still crowding to get over, when the retreating rear guard set fire to both bridges, and the groans and curses of the sufferers were borne to the ears of Napoleon as he retreated. The prisoners taken were so numerous that they could not be counted. Men and women clothed in rags begged if it were but for a piece of bread, tendering in exchange their watches, rings, and money. The Cossacks, among other property, got possession of 40 *pouds* of silver, which the fugitives had looted from the churches and were taking away with them. This was given to the Kazan cathedral at St. Petersburg, and from it was made an iconostasis.

The journey from the Beresina to the River Niemen, extending to almost 350 versts, was the most terrible and deadly for the French of the whole retreat. The frost reached thirty degrees. The breath was almost stopped by the cold, and it was hardly possible to speak. In one division of 10,000 men 7000 perished by frost alone. If only a few Russian soldiers had been posted on the heights behind the Beresina, not a Frenchman would have reached Vilna. But the Russians themselves, although they had warmer clothes than the invaders, suffered a great deal from the intense cold. Many of the common soldiers had their hands and feet frozen off. They made heaps of the French dead as shelter from the violence of the bitter wind, but this did not help them much. The hungry and lean horses could scarcely draw the guns. Realizing the imminent destruction of his army, Napoleon now

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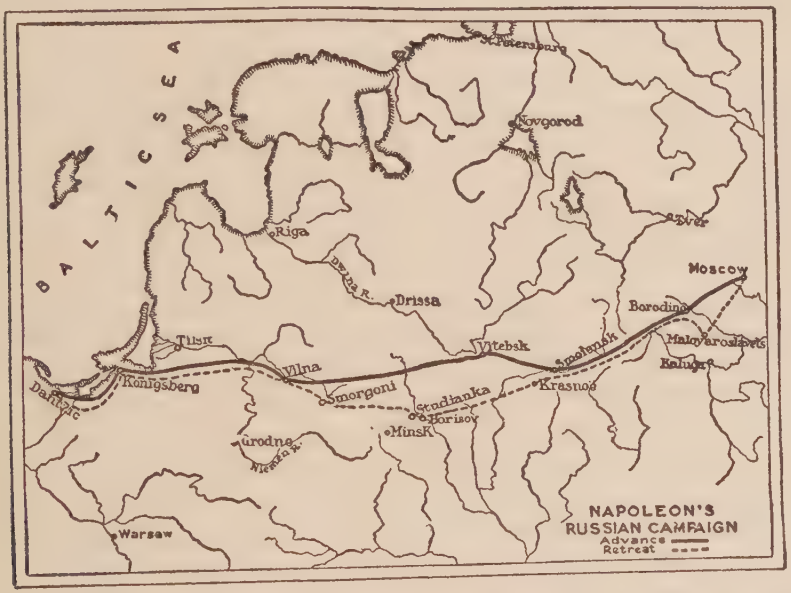
began to think how he was to escape from being captured. On December 3 he arrived at Molodechno, where he issued his famous bulletin. The truth could not be concealed any longer. This was the twenty-ninth bulletin which he had issued during the journey. On December 6, without going to Vilna, he bade adieu to his chief marshals, and told some of them that he was going to France for 300,000 more soldiers. But all Europe now knew of his gigantic



failure. At Smorgoni he handed over the command of the army to Murat, and hurried out of the country.

On the morning of December 13, says Labaume, out of 400,000 men who had crossed the Niemen at the opening of the campaign, scarcely 20,000 repassed it, of whom at least two-thirds had not seen the Kremlin. The 80,000, to which some swell the number, is made up by including the regiments afterward sent to assist Napoleon.

When the French soldiers arrived in Poland they dispersed like ordinary travelers. Soon afterward the Cossacks entered Kovno and passed the Niemen, which was completely frozen over. They then spread themselves over the immense plains of Poland, where they massacred or made prisoners many of the French sol-

diers, who, not thinking that the Russians would cross the Niemen, had imagined themselves to be now safe. Some of the fugitives escaped to Dantzic. The Saxons, under Regnier, were routed and dispersed in a final engagement at Kalisch, and Poniatowski and the Poles retired to Cracow, protected by Schwarzenberg. The Prussians were now the only hope of the French. These did nothing, however, and York, their commander, even concluded a treaty of neutrality with Diebitsch. This the King of Prussia at first disavowed, but as soon as he was out of the power of the French, York was rewarded.

Some of the fugitives took the road to Thorn: the viceroy, Eugène Beauharnais, sent from Gumbinnen an order to Königsberg that those of the fourth corps who had taken the road to Tilsit should proceed to Marienwerder. The King of Naples (Murat) was very coldly received by the authorities at Königsberg. The star of the invader was no longer in the ascendant.

On December 10 Napoleon reached Warsaw, where he took up his quarters at the Hotel d'Angleterre. He immediately sent for his ambassador. This was De Pradt, the Archbishop of Mechlin, whom he had employed in various intrigues. He had sent him on one occasion to stir up the Polish diet at Warsaw. "Suddenly," said De Pradt, "the door of my study opened, and before me stood a man leaning on one of my secretaries. The head of the newcomer was wrapped in a piece of black cloth. His face was concealed by his cloak, his feet could hardly move in his heavy winter boots. 'Follow me,' said this terrible personage. I rose up and went to him; it was Caulaincourt. 'What! is that you?' I cried out; 'where is the emperor?' 'In the Hotel d'Angleterre; he expects you.' 'Why did he not stop in the palace?' 'He does not wish to be recognized." 'Whither are you going in such a dress?' 'To Paris.' 'And the army?' 'The army,' said he, raising his eyes to heaven, 'the army does not exist any longer.' 'And how about the victory at the Beresina, and the six thousand Russians taken prisoners by General Bassano?' 'We crossed the Beresina, but we could not keep the prisoners.' 'M. le Duc,' said I, taking Caulaincourt by the hand, 'it is time to think of our position; the true servants of the emperor ought to tell him the truth.' 'Yes; it is a terrible calamity,' answered he. 'At all events I cannot reproach myself; I prophesied it. Only, let us go; the emperor expects us.'

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"I hurried out of the house, almost ran along the streets, and finally stopped at the gates of the hotel. It was about half-past one o'clock. A Polish police officer was keeping guard. The proprietor of the hotel looked cautiously at me, thought for a minute, and then allowed me to enter. At the door I noticed a little carriage, rudely constructed, and in a very dilapidated state. Two sledges were with it. And this was what remained of so much splendor and magnificence, thought I at that moment. Before me a door opened into a little low-pitched room. Rustan [the Mameluke] met me, and bade me come in. Preparations were being made for dinner: the Duke of Vicenza presented me to the emperor and left me with him. He was in a small, cold apartment, with the windows half closed, the better to preserve his incognito. An awkward Polish maid-servant was meanwhile trying to make a fire with some green wood. According to his custom, Napoleon paced up and down the apartment. He had come on foot from the bridge of Praga to the Hotel d'Angleterre. He was wrapped in a handsome pelisse, with a fur cap on his head."

After the ambassador had expressed the satisfaction he felt on seeing the emperor safely back again, he frankly put before Napoleon the condition of the empire. Only that morning De Pradt had heard of an affair on the Boug near Krislov, in which two newly raised battalions had thrown down their arms on the second discharge. He had also been informed that out of 1200 horses belonging to these troops, 800 had been lost from want of care on the part of the new soldiers, and that 5000 Russians, with many guns, were marching on Zamosc. In conclusion, he began to speak of the wretched condition of the Poles, but Napoleon would not hear him to the end, and asked, in a quick way: "What has ruined them?" "The bad crops of last year, your Highness; all trade is at a standstill." At these words the eyes of Napoleon expressed annoyance. He went on to ask: "Where are the Russians?" De Pradt told him. "And the Austrians?" The archbishop answered that question also. "For two weeks I have heard nothing of them," said Napoleon. De Pradt then informed him of the sacrifices which the grand duchy (as Poland was then called), had made, and then continued to speak of the Polish army. "I saw nothing of it during the whole campaign," Napoleon said. De Pradt explained the cause to him: "The army was divided, and in consequence of the division achieved but little." Napoleon

wished Count Stanislaus Potocki and the minister of finance to be brought to him after dinner. When they congratulated him on coming safe out of so many dangers his only answer was: "Dangers are nothing at all; agitation is life to me. The more trouble I have the better I am." He declared his intention of raising 300,000 men and, after having fought the Russians on the Oder, marching on the Niemen again. After a pause he mounted the humble carriage and disappeared.

English travelers who visited Russia soon after the retreat of Napoleon have given us graphic pictures, both by pencil and pen, of the condition of Moscow when abandoned. Of the splendid palaces of the Menshikovs, the Apraxins, and others, only the ruined walls were to be seen. One writer says: "All was now in the same forlorn condition: street after street greeted the eye with perpetual ruin, disjointed columns, mutilated porticoes, broken cupolas, walls of rugged stucco black, discolored with the stains of fire, and open on every side to the sky, formed a hideous contrast to the picture which travelers had drawn of the grand and sumptuous palaces of Moscow." It appears by the official accounts that before the fire the wooden houses amounted in number to 6591, and those built of stone or brick to 2567; of the former, when the French evacuated the city only 2100 were remaining, and of the latter, 526. James, in his interesting "Travels," describes the field of Borodino as being literally strewn with caps, feathers, scabbards, pieces of camp kettles, scraps of uniform both French and Russian. The Russian Government caused large fires to be lighted upon the field and other places, in which the dead bodies were burned.

The statement of a Russian historian will best enable us to realize what Russia had suffered in this war. At the time of the invasion the number of Russian troops stationed along the western frontier, from Finland to the Danube, amounted to 400,000 men; during the time of the war large reserves were formed of recruits, a powerful militia was created, and the Cossacks of the Don were armed. These troops, who by degrees all came to take a share in the "War of the Fatherland," as it is called, were toward the conclusion of the campaign consolidated into one under the flag of Kutuzov, but Kutuzov did not succeed in bringing to the banks of the Niemen more than 100,000 men. In his main army, made up of the soldiers of Barclay de Tolly and Bagration and at

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last strengthened by the reserves, the militia, and the Cossacks, there were not as many as 40,000 men. Many of the last had been killed in fight, many perished unarmed in the towns and villages, being either burned in their dwellings or cut down by the sword of the invader, or perishing through hunger, cold, and disease. In the government of Smolensk a census, which was made in 1816, revealed a deficiency of 60,000 peasants, when compared to the census of 1811. The losses of property were immense: all the towns and villages from Vilna to Moscow were devastated by fire and sword, as if overwhelmed by a torrent of lava; the losses sustained by private individuals in the government of Moscow alone amounted to 280 millions of rubles. "And who," pathetically adds the Russian writer, "can estimate the loss of the historical monuments of our country?"

It would, therefore, seem to be unfair to blame the Russians for unseemly boasting when their poets, Pushkin, Lermontov, and others in many well-known productions, exult over the issue of this invasion. Hercules, indeed, fell powerless in the struggle and left his club as a trophy.

Alexander does not seem, however, to have been satisfied with Kutuzov, although the latter naturally became the national hero. He said of him at Vilna: "*Le vieillard doit être content; le froid l'a bien servi.*" Sir Robert Wilson, who accompanied the Russian army in the campaign, says that on December 26 Alexander sent for him and said: "General, I have called you into my cabinet to make a painful confession, but I rely upon your honor and prudence. I wished to have avoided it, but I could not bear to appear inconsistent in your estimate of my proceedings, which I must be thought if my motives be not explained.

"I must, however, first assure you of my great satisfaction with your conduct during your residence with my armies; and also thank you for your correspondence, which in justice to yourself I have directed to be deposited in my archives. The consequences which have flowed from your devotion to my interests when the conference was proposed at Tarutino, were of great benefit to them, and your communications have enabled me to prevent much other mischief.

"You have always told me the truth—truth I could not obtain through any other channel.

"I know that the marshal [Kutuzov] has done nothing he

ought to have done—nothing against the enemy that he could avoid. All his successes have been forced upon him. He has been playing some of his old Turkish tricks, but the nobility of Moscow support him, and insist upon his becoming the national hero of this war. In half an hour I must, therefore "—and he paused for a minute—" decorate this man with the great Order of St. George, and by so doing commit a trespass on its institution, for it is the highest honor and hitherto the purest of the empire. But I will not ask you to be present. I should feel too much humiliated if you were so; but I have no choice, I must submit to a controlling necessity. I will, however, not again leave my army, and there shall be no opportunity given for additional misdirection by the marshal.

" He is an old man, and therefore I would have you show him suitable courtesies, and not refuse them when offered on his part.

" I wish to put an end to every appearance of ill-will, and to take from this day a new departure, which I mean to make one of gratitude to Providence and of grace to all."

Wilson adds: " His imperial majesty then said that he should distribute rewards to his generals and brave soldiers who had done their duty heroically; and that he had signed an act of amnesty and general pardon, so that everyone under his rule might participate in the joy he felt at the triumph of his country." This amnesty was full and complete, " embracing even all his Polish subjects who had joined the enemy."

" The past is condemned to an eternal oblivion and silence; all are prohibited from reviving any reference to these affairs. Those only who continue in the service of the enemy after the expiration of two months shall be condemned, never to return to Russia again."

These words of the emperor Sir Robert Wilson justly extols. Indeed the conduct of Alexander throughout the war seems to have been most noble. His proclamations are models of dignity and firmness.

Chapter XIII

THE REACTIONARY PERIOD. 1812-1825

NAPOLEON soon quitted Warsaw and, passing through Dresden in disguise, reached Paris on December 18. He recovered his ardor, and raised a fresh army of 300,000 men in the beginning of 1813. By this time Alexander was prepared to assume the offensive. In February he had succeeded in inducing Frederick William of Prussia to sign the Treaty of Kalisch, by which he pledged himself to assist Russia. England was already willing to help. This was the sixth great coalition against Napoleon. We are compelled to omit those battles fought in northern Germany in which the Russians were not concerned. They were, however, together with the Prussians, defeated by Napoleon at Lützen and at Bautzen; in the latter of these engagements Alexander commanded in person. Napoleon, however, agreed to an armistice at Pleisswitz on June 4, 1813, and the Russians availed themselves of the opportunity to reinforce, and more than 60,000 fresh troops reached the seat of war from the south and the middle of Russia.

Austria now, after considerable hesitation, went over to the allies. After defeating Schwarzenberg at the battle of Dresden, Napoleon was himself completely routed by the allies at the great battle of Leipsic, which lasted three days, October 16 to 19—*die Völkerschlacht,* as it has been called. It was here that Prince Poniatowski, the nephew of Stanislaus, the last king of Poland, was drowned in the Elster. The allies then marched steadily upon Paris. At the close of the year the allied sovereigns offered peace to Napoleon; the boundaries of France were to be the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. These overtures, however, were rejected by Napoleon.

In January, 1814, the allied armies entered French territory, and furnished Napoleon with occasion to display his great military talents. At Montmirail and again at Nangis the Russians were defeated, and although Schwarzenberg had merely to effect a junc-

tion with Blücher, he nevertheless resolved to retreat. Napoleon was in reality relying upon his own masterly tactics and disagreement among the allies. Blücher, however, with the approval of the Emperor Alexander, resolved to march on Paris. After a battle at Craon, which was indecisive, the combined forces of Russia and Prussia succeeded in defeating the French at Laon. Then came the two battles of Fère-Champenoise, and at length, after gallantly storming the heights of Montmartre, where they lost many men, the Russians entered Paris with the other allied troops on March 31, 1814. These events culminated in the Treaty of Fontainebleau, by which Napoleon consented to abdicate and retire to the Island of Elba. The tsar, having Prince Schwarzenberg on his right and the King of Prussia on his left, made his triumphant entry into Paris at the head of 50,000 men. Even the French acknowledge that the tsar made a generous use of his rights as conqueror in view of the sufferings that Russia had undergone during the occupation of Moscow and the devastation of their territory.

On his return to Russia Alexander was received with rapture by his people. The senate wished to confer upon him the title of "the Blessed," but he had the good sense to refuse such an appellation.

It would be beyond the scope of this book to recapitulate all the enactments of the Congress of Vienna, which lasted from September 20, 1814, to June 10, 1815. We must confine ourselves to those which more immediately concerned Russia. Alexander insisted on retaining the grand duchy of Warsaw, which he intended to reëstablish as the constitutional kingdom of Poland. In this he was opposed by Lord Castlereagh, who was apprehensive of the aggrandizement of Russia. Austria laid claim to the city of Cracow, declaring that she had been despoiled of it by the treaty of Schönbrunn. Eventually it was settled that Cracow, with a certain amount of territory appropriated to it, should form an independent republic under the protection of Austria, Prussia, and Russia; and so it remained until 1846. A portion of Poland was assigned to Prussia under the title of the grand duchy of Posen, and Dantzic was also confirmed to her.

The proceedings of the congress were suddenly interrupted by the return of Napoleon from Elba, and the brief campaign which followed, known as the Hundred Days. With these events, however, Russia had in reality nothing to do. Russia could not send

her troops in time to be present at the battle of Waterloo. Afterward when France was parceled out among the armies of occupation, Champagne and Lorraine were the territories assigned to her.

The Russian emperor, who had during his whole life been largely influenced by the liberal views with which he had been indoctrinated by his Swiss tutor, Laharpe, had, as we have said, formed the plan of governing Poland as a constitutional monarchy. He was for a time much under the influence of Prince Adam Czartoryski. But it was obvious from the very first that such an arrangement would present great difficulties. The union between an ancient autocracy and the oligarchical constitutionalism of the Poles was unnatural, and was soon found to be so.

The first Polish diet assembled at Warsaw in 1818, and the Grand Duke Constantine, the emperor's brother, was made commander in chief of the Polish forces. At home the emperor was unfortunate in his plan of the formation of military colonies, which would seem to have been suggested by Araktcheiev. This man had been enabled to maintain under Alexander the influence which he had enjoyed under Paul. His name, however, is to this day remembered in Russia with great hatred. The idea of the military colonies seems to have been taken to some extent from the arrangement of the Austrian so-called military frontier. It was supposed that by settling certain regiments among the crown peasants the soldier colonist could work on the land and thus contribute to his own support. Thus there would be good centers for recruiting the army and a system of military training could be diffused over the country. The plan was gradually extended to the whole army. The colonies, however, became odious to the peasants, who saw in them military supervision brought to bear upon the relationships of private life.

The system was first tried in 1816 on a small scale at Smolensk, then in the governments nearer to the capital, and finally among the Cossacks in the south, but everywhere it met with great opposition, especially among those last named, who had always enjoyed peculiar privileges; in fact serfdom among them had been unknown till the reign of Paul. Gradually, however, the ill-timed endeavors were allowed to drop.

Difficulties soon began to be felt with reference to Poland. Alexander had at first acted with a liberal spirit. He had even appointed as viceroy General Zajaczek, a retired Napoleonic officer.

Those Poles who had served in the army of the invader had been all amnestied. But in reality all power was in the hands of the Grand Duke Constantine, a rigid martinet, and Novosiltsov, a very reactionary Russian minister. More than three years had elapsed since a diet had been summoned. It soon became obvious that the emperor, however benevolent his designs may have been, was unable to carry them out, and was surrounded by forces beyond his control. The liberal counsels of the minister Speranski were set aside; he himself was banished, his place being taken by Araktcheiev and Novosiltsov. This change of attitude on the part of Alexander was indeed remarkable. Some writers have not hesitated to explain his conduct by what they call his natural duplicity, and we know that Napoleon said of him that he was as false as a Byzantine Greek. But the truth seems to have been that his weak character was swayed hither and thither and too readily influenced by his surroundings.

The reactionary period lasted until his death. He was the slave of a strange kind of religious mysticism, to which the Slavonic character seems especially liable; and he was, moreover, entangled in the political system of Metternich. The arrogant Araktcheiev, who was generally called the "accursed serpent," had unbounded power over his master. All the other ministers were insignificant in comparison with him. Through him alone the emperor could be approached, and the most influential persons in the country were to be seen waiting in the ante-chamber of the favorite till such time as he chose to summon them.

Efforts were made at this time to emancipate the serfs. Alexander was a humane man, and seems to have greatly encouraged plans of this sort. In the Baltic provinces in the years 1817-1819 emancipation of the peasants was introduced, but without any assignment of land being made to them. Alexander expressed his sympathy with all these measures. He praised the landowners, remarking that in their wish to set free their peasants they were acting in the spirit of the times, and understood that the happiness of people was grounded on liberal ideas. The emperor is even said to have written a paper on the gradual abolition of serfdom in Russia, although the ultimate fate of this document is unknown. In 1818 Alexander put forth a statement on this subject, but it appears to have been intrusted to the "accursed serpent," who contrived to get it shelved. As far back as the year 1807 Alex-

ander had said to Savary, "I wish to bring the country out of that barbarous condition in which this trade in human beings keeps it! I will say more! If education were sufficiently developed I would destroy serfdom even if it cost me my life."

Next to Araktcheiev, the most influential person with the emperor was Prince Alexander Galitzin. He also was steeped in mysticism. Two other people who greatly encouraged the emperor in his reactionary views were Michael Magnitski and Dmitri Runich.

Liberal professors were banished from the universities, and the most complete inquisitorial system was pursued with reference to the students. Parrot, the liberal professor of the University of Dorpat, had the courage to write a letter of remonstrance to the emperor, but the protest remained without effect. Magnitski continued this mischievous interference until Nicholas came to the throne, when he was dismissed; the new emperor also refusing to see Araktcheiev. Magnitski, however, was eclipsed by the extraordinary ecclesiastic Photius. This man had set on foot a crusade against the liberal and somewhat Protestant tendencies of Alexander, and the permission given to the Bible Society to carry on its labors. Photius was anxious that a more orthodox tone should prevail. Peter Spasski, for that was his name, as a layman, had assumed airs of great austerity. He was made archimandrite of the Yuriev monastery at Novgorod, and was very much assisted in his ministration by the rich Countess Orlov, a devotee, who placed her vast wealth at his disposal. The masonic lodges were closed in Russia by his order. On one occasion the archimandrite anathematized Galitzin in such unmeasured language that the latter sent in his resignation to the emperor, who, however, refused to accept it entirely, and still kept him about his person.

Admiral Shiskov was made minister of public instruction. He also was a reactionary; his name frequently occurs in the literary history of the time.

Notwithstanding the markedly liberal speeches which the emperor had made in the Polish diet, he was destined to fall under the influence of Metternich and the Holy Alliance. In 1818 he had talked of the introduction of constitutional government into Russia, and the restoration to Poland of those provinces which had been taken by the Russians in earlier times. The scheme of a constitution for Russia was even formulated in a paper, entitled,

"Imperial Charter for the Russian Empire." [1] Subsequent troubles, and the reactionary influences at work in the mind of the emperor, seem to have prevented the realization of this plan, although Speranski spoke of it as certain to come to pass. It exists, however, only as an historical document. The Polish insurrectionists found it among some government papers in 1830, and in the following year caused 2000 copies to be struck off at Warsaw. When Paskevitch took Warsaw he found about 1578 copies remaining, and sent them to the Emperor Nicholas, who caused them to be burned in the courtyard of the arsenal.

As a leading member of the Holy Alliance Alexander took a part in the Congresses of Aix-la-Chapelle, Tropau, Laibach, and Verona, and threw himself entirely into the reactionary movements which those congresses dictated. Everywhere liberal ideas were to be crushed. Alexander even sent an army under Yermolov to Piedmont to suppress an insurrection; but the Austrians settled matters there without the employment of Russian bayonets. The principles, however, of the Holy Alliance prevented the Russian emperor from assisting the Greeks in their noble struggles against the Turks. In fact all peoples were to obey their legitimate masters. Tricoupi tells us that the Greeks had relied at the outset on Russian interference. It had been the traditional policy of the tsars since the time of Peter the Great to assist the rayas. Both Vladimiresco and Ipsilanti pretended that Alexander was indirectly supporting them. The latter, however, was more than ever under the influence of Metternich after the Congress of Vienna, and ceased to correspond, as he had formerly done, with his liberal-minded old tutor, Laharpe, who had returned to Switzerland.

Mysticism, fostered by the influence of Madame de Krüdener, became more powerful than ever among the disturbing elements of the emperor's mind. He took it into his head that he was being chastened for the sins of his youth. When the great floods occurred at St. Petersburg in 1824 he regarded them as a direct visitation. In answer to the exclamation of an old man: "God punishes us for our sins," he cried aloud, before the assembled multitude: "No! for mine." The idea of abdicating had now taken great hold of him. When alone in the company of his brother

[1] It is a fact, not generally known, that Alexander applied to Jefferson for a copy of the Constitution of the United States, which was furnished him.

Nicholas and his wife, he would speak openly of looking to him as his heir. "I have resolved," he said, "to give up the duties imposed upon me, and to retire from the world." In the summer of 1825, a few months before his death, he told the Prince of Orange, who was then staying in St. Petersburg, that he intended to abdicate. He had also, at the request of his brother, Constantine, prepared the document by which the latter, with his consent, renounced the succession. When Prince Vasilchikov, in 1824, on his recovery from a fever, told him of the sympathy expressed by all St. Petersburg, he remarked: "It is pleasant to believe this, but in reality I should not be unwilling to cast off this burden of a crown, which weighs heavily upon me."

It is well known that he was deeply affected on hearing of the plots and secret societies existing at the time in Russia. When, in 1821, he was returning to Russia, after a year spent out of the country, General Vasilchikov informed him of the existence of a political plot. "Dear Vasilchikov," said the emperor, "you have been in my service since the beginning of my reign, and know that I have shared and encouraged these illusions and errors. It is not for me to punish." A paper was found after his death in which accounts of secret societies were given, and upon which he had made a few notes. But although he knew all these distressing facts, Alexander would not take any decisive step. Even the report of Sherwood he did not act upon. This man, who made himself so conspicuous as an informer, and revealed the plot of the Dekabrists, was an Englishman who had come out to Russia when quite young in a very humble capacity. As a reward for his services he was afterward ennobled by Nicholas, and had the epithet "*Vierni*" (the faithful) added to his name.

Grievous, indeed, and gloomy were the last days of the benevolent-minded Alexander. He told those around him that a weight lay on his heart, when he thought how much ought to be done for the inner prosperity of the country. Again, in spite of all the reactionary policy inspired by Metternich, or an Araktcheiev, the emperor felt that it was not for him to punish.

To retrace somewhat our steps. At the beginning of the year 1818 the emperor had visited the southern provinces of Russia, the Crimea, and the rising city of Odessa. This had been founded by Catherine on the ruins of a miserable Turkish village, and had been endowed with a name taken from classical tradition, for among

the ancients there was an Odessus. One of the chief agents in its creation was the French *émigré,* the Duke de Richelieu, whose name is still remembered with gratitude in the city. He was assisted by another French *émigré,* Rochechonart.

The Greek war for independence broke out in 1821, but the Hellenes were destined to great disappointment, as Russia did not assist them. In a similar manner they had been deceived by Catherine II., for the efforts of Alexis Orlov had led to nothing, and they had been obliged to settle down again under the Turkish yoke. Nothing even was done when, in April, 1821, the Greek patriarch, Gregory, was hanged at Constantinople at the gate of the patriarchate, although this was an outrage to the whole Greek Church, of which the tsar was in theory the protector. The body, however, which had been cast into the Bosporus, was secretly recovered and conveyed to Odessa, where it was buried with great religious pomp. It was plain, however, that nothing would be done for the Greeks during the rule of Alexander.

The second diet of Poland opened in September, 1820. The country was full of secret societies, which did not escape the notice of the all-vigilant Novosiltsov. One of these was organized among the students of the University of Vilna, then in a very flourishing condition owing to the eminence of some of the professors. Among these students were the poet Adam Mickiewicz and his friend Thomas Zan. The former, destined to be so celebrated, was in consequence of his connection with this secret society interned in Russia.

Alexander had married in early life the Princess Maria of Baden, who took the name of Elizabeth. The marriage had not been a happy one, and husband and wife had for some time lived separately, though latterly there had been a *rapprochement.* The emperor was anxious that the empress should leave St. Petersburg for a time on account of her health and go to Germany. This she would not consent to do, and eventually Taganrog, at the mouth of the Don, was chosen for her. Alexander left St. Petersburg ten days before the empress (September 13, 1825), who did not arrive until October 5, and her health soon showed marked improvement. The tsar took advantage of this circumstance to make a short tour in the Crimea. On this occasion he frequently spoke of his intended abdication. He was struck with the scenery of the peninsula, and declared that he had resolved to take up his

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abode there. On his return, however, to Taganrog he was seized with a fever and expired December 1, 1825.

During the reign of Alexander Russian literature continued to make steady progress. Derzhavin, the laureate of Catherine, survived until 1816. But the classical school of which he was the corypheus had very much declined throughout Europe. A link between the old and new order of things was the visit paid by Derzhavin when very old to the lyceum at Tsarskoi Selo, and the pleasure which he took in listening to the verses of the youthful Pushkin. It reminds one of Pope being taken to see the aged Dryden, whose mantle was to fall upon him. However much we may acknowledge the too rhetorical tendencies of Derzhavin, we cannot deny that he had a powerful influence in the formation of a good style of Russian verse. The productions of Dmitriev and Batiuchkov are rather weak: the latter, however, has considerable elegance, and in his writings we feel the breath of the new romanticism. He died as late as 1855, but had long ceased to write, having fallen into a state of imbecility. Zhukovski (born in 1783) belongs to a certain extent to the reign of Alexander, but we shall discuss him at greater length when we come to speak of the brilliant galaxy of talent which adorns the reign of Nicholas. The poet fought in the Russian ranks in the "Great War of the Fatherland," and in his "Poet in the camp of the Russian soldiers" he praises the Russian generals at Tarutino. The plays of Ozerov deserve some mention; he died in 1816, having shown a healthy tendency toward nationalism by choosing subjects for his plays from Russian history, *e. g.*, "Dmitri Donskoi."

The first real Russian historian was Nicholas Karamzin (1766-1826), who began to write in the reign of Catherine, but attained his chief fame under Alexander. His great "History of the Russian Empire," which, however, he did not live to carry farther than the election of Michael Romanov, began to appear in 1818. The author used to read it to the members of the imperial family in the "Green Walk" at Tsarskoi Selo. Karamzin is deservedly noted for his style, which is flowing and elegant. He was the first to demonstrate how Russian prose should be written. He introduced a great many words of which the Russian language stood in need, and which its great strength and elasticity made of easy manufacture. He has been accused, and possibly with some justice, of throwing a false charm of refinement over the early Russian

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princes, who were rude soldiers, and nothing more; but this conception of history was characteristic of his age. The influence of Scott was making itself felt throughout Europe. The glamor of the novelist had begun to affect historians, as in the case of the French writers Thierry and De Barante. But the notes appended to the history of Karamzin show him to have been a great deal more than a mere rhetorical historian.

Chapter XIV

THE RULE OF ABSOLUTISM UNDER NICHOLAS I. 1825-1853

ALTHOUGH the succession to the Russian throne had been made by Peter the Great to depend upon the will of the sovereign, this principle had, by the ordinances of the Emperor Paul, given place to primogeniture, as being more in harmony with the laws of other European states. The heir, according to this principle, was Constantine, who was born in 1779, but he had renounced his claim in 1822, or, according to some other authorities, as early as 1820. There had, however, been as yet no publication of the fact. Constantine was a man of whom few good things are to be said. He is reported to have treated the Poles with great brutality, and to have been a military martinet of the most aggravated type.

His first marriage had been an unhappy one; and he had obtained permission to divorce his wife, Anna Feodorovna, a princess of Saxe-Coburg, and to marry a Polish lady, Julia Grudzinska, afterward made Princess of Lowicz. The second wife, however, was a Roman Catholic, and was not a member of any royal family. Constantine was therefore disqualified for succession unless he repudiated her. Neither he nor his wife had the least ambition to reign. He had executed a document renouncing his rights to the throne. Although this had been communicated to a family council, nothing had been made known to the public.

All the circumstances of this obscure arrangement were subsequently cleared up by official publications in 1857, after the death of Nicholas. The latter had proceeded to take the oath to Constantine as soon as the death of Alexander became known in St. Petersburg; but on the arrival of a courier from Warsaw conveying the renunciation of Constantine for the third time, Nicholas fixed December 26 as the day on which he would receive the oath of allegiance from the troops; and Count Speranski, the former liberal minister of Alexander, was ordered to draw up the proclamation.

An organized insurrection now took place, being in a large measure the result of the numerous secret societies with which Russia was honeycombed. Advantage was taken of the confusion which prevailed, and the soldiers were informed that the Grand Duke Constantine had not resigned. The conspirators had gone to the various barracks and tampered with the fidelity of the soldiers, who were amazed at the confusion in which everything was involved. When the oaths were to be taken a terrible scene took place in the square of the senate near the cathedral of St. Isaac. The soldiers, who had been misled by the conspirators, shouted "Long live Constantine," and when told to shout also for the constitution (*constitatzia*), thought that the wife of Constantine must be meant.

Nicholas, who showed a great deal of presence of mind, appeared on the scene at an early hour in the uniform of the Izmailovski regiment. The proclamation was read by him in a loud voice, but was only answered by murmurs, and a declaration by the soldiers that they would not give up their tsar. A struggle ensued, and while shots were being freely interchanged, Miloradovitch, who had seen so much service in the recent wars, was killed.

The metropolitan of St. Petersburg was sent by the emperor to harangue the rioters. They would not listen to him. Missiles were thrown at him, and he was obliged to retreat into St. Isaac's. The emperor seemed to wish to avoid shedding the blood of the people, but at last orders were given to fire upon the rebellious mob. A great number were killed, and by nightfall all was quiet. The insurrection was quelled with equal facility in the other parts of the empire. At seven o'clock a great *Te Deum* was celebrated to announce that the riot was over and that Nicholas had ascended the throne of his ancestors.

The chief conspirators were one by one arrested; they had displayed but little resolution, and had returned to hide themselves at home. Many of the most eminent men in Russia were mixed up with this ill-advised plot. Pushkin was in the house of his friends the Osipovs when the news came to his country-place, Mikhailovski, near Pskov. It was by the merest accident that he was prevented from going to St. Petersburg to take a share in the conspiracy. The same was also the case with Griboiedov, the author of one of the best comedies in the Russian language, "The

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Misfortune of Being Too Clever." Both Pushkin and Griboiedov managed to destroy their compromising papers, and remained unmolested. Many of the ringleaders were sent to Siberia, among them being members of some of the most illustrious families in Russia. Five were hanged—Pestel, the son of a former governor of Siberia; Rileeks, a poet of considerable merit, whose works were for a long time not allowed to be circulated in Russia; Sergius Muraviev-Alostob, Bestuzhev-Riumin, and Kakhovski, who had fired the fatal shot at Miloradovitch. Many of the wives of the exiles asked leave to accompany their husbands to Siberia, and some pathetic narratives have appeared of their adventures.

In a letter from Voiekov to Princess Volkonski, which was printed in the pages of the Magazine *Russkaya Starina,* we get the contemporary view of the government party on the subject of the Dekabrists. The outbreak was cited as a proof of how little profit there was in knowledge, unless it was based upon honor and virtue. N. A. Bestuzhev, the writer tells us, fired at Colonel Sturler, and attacked with the butt end of his musket or stabbed the loyal soldiers; A. A. Bestuzhev, "a mad critic, an impudent fellow in society, a writer not without talents," gave himself out, we are told, as the adjutant of the Grand Duke Constantine. Moreover, Voiekov says that he declared that Constantine had been seized on the way, and that the Grand Duke Michael was in chains. He wounded and stabbed his opponents in all directions, and it appears from this letter that it was he who told the soldiers to shout for the constitution. Others mentioned are Orestes Somov, who was taken with a pistol in his hand, and Wilhelm Küchelbecker. Of the latter Voiekov says that he was a greater fanatic than Ravaillac or Karl Sand, the assassin of Kotzebue, and then adds the following remarkable words: "He was educated at the Lyceum at the same time as Pushkin, at the expense of the Grand Duke Michael, as also his three sisters, who were at that time receiving a pension from the bounty of his imperial highness." According to Voiekov, Küchelbecker took aim at the Grand Duke Michael with a pistol, but the soldiers snatched it from his hand.

Küchelbecker was assisted by his friends to escape, and might easily have got out of the country, but lingered at Warsaw, and was caught in an eating-house in the suburb of Praga. He was sentenced to penal servitude for twenty years. For some time he was at Schlüsselburg, and was afterward removed to Dünaburg.

In 1835 he was sent to Barguzin, in eastern Siberia. He died in 1840 while still in exile.

A tender regret still clings to the memory of Prince Alexander Odoievski. He had been initiated into the secret society of the conspirators by Rileeks, and was arrested the day after the outbreak. He was sentenced to deportation to Siberia, where he remained eleven years. In 1837 he was sent to serve as a common soldier in the Caucasus. In 1839 he was ordered to go on a military expedition to the eastern shore of the Black Sea, but died in camp, worn out by fatigue. He was the author of some charming lyrics, many of which were written during his exile.

Some of the Dekabrists were afterward amnestied by the Emperor Alexander II. According to the official paper, five were degraded from the ranks of the nobility and sent to remote garrisons as common soldiers; a hundred and eleven were condemned either to perpetual servitude, or if convicts only for a time, were to remain all the rest of their lives in Siberia; and five were sentenced to death.

Turning to foreign relations we note that matters were temporarily arranged between Russia and Turkey by the Convention of Akerman in 1826, which confirmed the Treaty of Bucharest. But the question concerning the Greeks, which was now becoming more pressing than ever, still remained to be settled. Nicholas looked upon their struggle with the Turks as a matter of European interest, and refused to have it dealt with in an indirect way. He viewed the question very differently from his brother Alexander; indeed all Europe had become disgusted with the cruel manner in which the Turks were carrying on the war. Nicholas wished to put a stop to a sanguinary struggle which seemed to threaten with complete extermination an unfortunate people and one of the same religious faith as the Russians. On the conclusion of the Convention of Akerman the privy-councilor Ribeaupierre set out for Constantinople and, together with the English ambassador, offered, according to the protocol of March 23, 1826, the services of Russia and England in settling the difficulty between Turks and Greeks on terms suitable to both peoples. Greece was to remain under the suzerainty of the Porte, and to pay a yearly tribute, but she was to have the right of self-government by means of officials elected by the people and confirmed by the Porte. The French ambassador also supported the proposals of Russia.

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In view of the embittered feeling of the Greeks, who had made up their minds to perish rather than to return to their former slavery, the sultan might have shown more consideration toward the European cabinets for their trouble in the matter. Mahmud, however, would not hear of any mediation, and declared that it rested with him to execute or pardon disobedient slaves. He accordingly gave orders to the Turkish and Egyptian soldiers to devastate the Morea and the islands of the archipelago. Bloodshed was renewed with incredible savagery. Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Mehemet Ali, the pasha of Egypt and the chief commander of the Ottoman forces, spared neither age nor sex. He burned towns and villages, devastated cornfields, and tore up the olive trees by the roots. It seemed as though Greece was destined to become a desert. The Turk committed atrocities which he has perpetrated over again in Bulgaria and Armenia.

In spite of many deeds of prowess Greece was becoming gradually exhausted; a state of things which was intensified when the Egyptians were called in by the Turks, and Ibrahim Pasha began to lay waste the Morea. The civilized world, however, was now getting tired of the continued bloodshed; and at length, by a treaty concluded in London on July 6, 1827, between Russia, England, and France, it was decided again to offer the mediation of the three powers to the Porte for a reconciliation with Greece on the basis of the St. Petersburg protocol, with this addition, that if in the course of a month the Turks or Greeks should not have themselves brought their hostilities to a close, the powers would compel them to do so with all the resources which they could command. Thus another month's agony was added to the sufferings of the unfortunate Greeks, so vastly outnumbered.

In communicating to the divan the terms of the proposal the ambassadors of the three powers declared plainly that in case of the refusal of one or the other side the allied fleet would be compelled to stop the prolongation of the quarrel, which was injurious to trade and was opposed to the moral sense of the European nations. But the sultan listened neither to threats nor persuasions, and the bloodthirsty Ibrahim continued his brutalities in the Morea. A large army committed every kind of atrocity on the mainland, while the powerful fleet of Turkish and Egyptian vessels threatened the islands.

The allied fleets of Russia, France, and England were already

in the waters of the archipelago, under the command of Codrington, De Rigny, and Count Heyden. These admirals, in fulfillment of the orders of their governments, determined not to let the Turkish fleet continue to devastate the islands, and compelled it to enter the harbor of Navarino. Ibrahim procured an interview, at which, in consequence of firm language, he promised to suspend hostilities for three weeks until he had received fresh instructions from Constantinople. But he very soon broke his word; numerous regiments of the Turco-Egyptian army were dispersed over the western part of the Morea with the intention of completing the devastation. The allied admirals, seeing from their ships the glow of the distant conflagrations, at once sent a joint letter to Ibrahim in which they reminded him in strong language of the agreement he had made, and required an immediate answer as to whether he intended to keep his promise. The letter was not accepted, under the pretext of the absence of the chief in command and ignorance as to where he was to be found.

These, of course, were direct evasions intended to gain time for the completion of his work, and the admirals determined to adopt decisive measures. They resolved to enter the harbor of Navarino, hoping, by assuming the offensive, to compel Ibrahim to withdraw his troops from the Morea. The Ottoman fleet numbered 66 warships, with 2200 guns, and crews amounting to 23,000 men. It had taken a horse-shoe formation, supported on the wings by batteries erected on either side the entrance of the bay. A Turkish and an Egyptian admiral were in command. Ibrahim was on the shore. The allied fleet consisted of 27 ships of war (among them 8 Russian), with 1300 guns, and crews of 13,000 men. Admiral Codrington took the chief command, as being the senior in rank, and on October 20, 1827, sailed into the harbor in two columns. The right column consisted of English and French ships; the left of Russian. Both columns were to enter in order and anchor in front of the Ottoman fleet. The first column being nearer the bay, took the lead into the harbor with sails set, and cast anchor before the Turkish vessels. In order to explain the cause of their movements Codrington sent an officer to the Turkish admiral. The envoy was received with a discharge of musketry, and fell pierced by bullets. Another officer was sent, who met with the same fate. Immediately guns were fired from an Egyptian corvette on a French frigate, which answered with a volley. The battle had now begun.

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More than 2000 guns kept up a continual fire, the vessels themselves being hidden in clouds of smoke. Then, in the mist, and under a cross fire from the batteries on shore, the Russian squadron entered the harbor. Amid showers of bullets it quietly took up its appointed station on the left, and anchoring within range, opened a murderous fire upon the Turks. Admiral Heyden's vessel, the *Azov,* commanded by Captain Lazarev, engaged with three frigates, and in a few hours destroyed them; and others met with similar success. In about four hours' time all was over. The Ottoman fleet was annihilated, as it had been at Tchesmé in 1770, and was to be again at Sinope in 1853. Of all the ships of which it consisted, only one frigate and some smaller vessels remained, the rest being destroyed by fire or becoming the prizes of the conquerors. The Turks were almost twice as strong as the allies as regards the number of ships, guns, and men. The victory of the latter was due to their skill, and a rare unanimity of action, Russians, English, and French outvying each other in deeds of daring.

Mahmud, on hearing of the destruction of his fleet at Navarino, became more violent than ever. The ambassadors of the allied powers lost all hope of persuading him to accept the Treaty of London, and left Constantinople. This move was at once followed by the reading in all the Turkish mosques of a hatisherif for a universal arming for faith and country. The sultan proclaimed that Russia was the eternal, unchanging foe of Islam; that she was meditating the destruction of Turkey, and that the insurrection of the Greeks had been of her causing. It was she who was the originator of the Treaty of London, so destructive to the Ottoman empire. She had in reality only been trying to gather her foes together. For the space of four months the Russian Government allowed these thunders to pass unnoticed. It was not without hope that the embarrassed sultan would come to his senses when the public opinion of Europe was so clearly against him. But all hopes of reconciliation were vain; Turkey even took active measures to annoy Russia, to impede as much as possible her trade in the Black Sea, and to induce the Persians to break the treaty they had recently made. The struggle soon assumed wider dimensions.

War between Russia and Turkey broke out in 1828, each power accusing the other of not having observed the Treaty of Bucharest. Turkey declared that Russia had fomented the Greek insurrection, and caused the troubles in Moldavia and Wallachia. Russia, on

the other hand, accused the Porte of having stimulated the Circassians to revolt, and also having fostered the resistance of Persia.

A careful plan of campaign had been prepared. Turkey was to be attacked on all sides, by land and sea. Immediately after the declaration of war Prince Wittgenstein placed himself at the head of an army of 150,000 men, and on May 7 crossed the Pruth in three columns.

The provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, their capitals, Jassy and Bucharest, being taken, were administered by a Russian governor. The object of Wittgenstein was to cross the Danube, and to strike a decisive blow in the plains of Bulgaria or Rumelia. Paskievitch was instructed to make an incursion from the Caucasus into the Asiatic dominions of Turkey, so as to draw away her forces from Europe. Prince Menshikov, with a separate detachment, was to take Anapa, and Admiral Greig, with the Black Sea fleet, was to silence the forts on the Bulgarian, Rumelian, and other eastern coasts; while Admiral Heyden, with the squadron which was in the archipelago, was to close the Dardanelles so as to prevent reinforcements coming from Egypt to Constantinople.

The Russians had thus seized the Danubian principalities, as they were called, without firing a shot, and seemed to have been welcomed by the inhabitants.

The middle column, intrusted to the Grand Duke Michael, proceeded to Braila, hoping to take the fortress, which was an important strategical position: and thus the rear of the army beyond the Danube was made safe. Below Braila, opposite to Isakcha, the troops of the left column were concentrated to cross the Danube, then much more of a Turkish river than now. This column was numerically stronger than the others. Here the Russians had a very difficult task, owing to the unusual rising of the river in spring. The surrounding country was more or less inundated. The left bank, being lower, had become an impassable marsh. In order to reach the banks of the river, and make a bridge across it, it was necessary to construct earthworks. The soldiers, cheered by the presence of the emperor, who shared in the toils of the expedition, worked busily, and made a dam extending about five versts. The Turks also did not remain idle. The more mounds the Russians made the more batteries their enemies planted, threatening, by a cross fire, to prevent a bridge being thrown over the river. The Russians, however, were assisted by a fortunate circumstance.

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Some Zaporogian Cossacks at the mouths of the Danube had long lived under the protection of the Porte. They had not changed their faith, however, and when they were brought before the emperor they were so well received that they expressed their readiness to return to their former allegiance. Thus many light vessels came to be at the disposal of the Russians. Two regiments of chasseurs, in the boats of the Zaporogians, sailed across the Danube, took possession of the Turkish batteries, and raised the Russian flag on the right bank. Immediately after them crossed in perfect order all the soldiers who had been appointed to commence operations in Bulgaria. Nicholas, who directed the passage himself, sailed across in a Zaporogian boat, steered by the hetman.

The Turks, unwilling to meet the Russians in the open field beyond the Danube, shut themselves up in the fortresses which had served them as defenses in their previous wars with Russia. The chief posts defended besides Braila were Silistria, Rustchuk, Varna, and Shumla. Each had a large garrison under a skillful commander, the fortifications being in excellent repair. Shumla, which was almost impregnable on account of its position, was held by 40,000 of the best Turkish troops under the command of the Seraskier Hussein Pasha. Behind the Balkans was stationed the grand vizier with the reserve of the army to defend Constantinople.

The Russians resolved to make straight for Shumla to draw the seraskier into an engagement. They hoped by the destruction of this force to open a route beyond the Balkans. The small fortresses south of the Danube, Isakcha, Tultcha, Manchin, Girsova, and Kustendji, lying on the Russian route, could not detain them; they were taken one after the other by separate detachments. But the stubborn defense of Braila on the left bank of the river, in the rear of the Russian army, compelled the latter to remain for some time near the wall of Trajan. On the fall of Braila the army again moved forward. The soldiers marched in an insufferable heat over a country so bare and sandy that the most trifling supplies had to be carried with them. The unwholesome water produced diseases; the horse and cattle died by thousands for want of provender. The Turks were nevertheless driven back, and the Russians reached Shumla.

Their hope of an engagement was not gratified. Hussein remained immovable. To take Shumla by assault or by a regular siege was difficult; at all events much bloodshed was to be expected,

and in the case of failure it would be necessary to retreat across the river. Owing to the paucity of troops it could not be surrounded, and so deprived of supplies. On the other hand, if Shumla was left unmolested and the march continued over the Balkans, they would have an entire army in their rear which could fall upon them in the passes of the Balkans, while the vizier would be attacking them in front.

The emperor accordingly ordered Wittgenstein to remain under the walls of Shumla so as keep a watch upon Hussein. Meanwhile the detachment of Prince Menshikov, which had already threatened Anapa, was to occupy Varna, with the coöperation of the Black Sea fleet. The corps of Prince Stcherbatov was to take possession of Silistria. The capture of the first fortress secured the supply of provisions from Odessa by sea; the fall of the second was considered necessary to ensure winter quarters for the Russian army beyond the Danube.

The siege of Varna lasted two months and a half. The small detachment of Prince Menshikov proved insufficient to take a first-class fortress in so strong a position, and with a garrison of 20,000 men under the command of the sultan's favorite general. In vain did the Black Sea fleet, even under the eye of Nicholas, threaten the place from the sea. The city did not surrender. The Russian works were soon moved up to the walls, and through the apathy of Omer Vrione, the Turkish general, who was sent to relieve the place, it was eventually taken on October 11. Its capture ensured supplies for the Russian troops in Bulgaria, and at the same time deprived Shumla of its strategic importance. The route to Rumelia across the Balkans was now open on the side of the sea, but the winter coming on early determined the Russians to defer decisive measures till the ensuing campaign. Prince Wittgenstein retired across the Danube, having left strong detachments in Varna, Bazartchik, and Pravadi.

Meanwhile marvelous events were happening in the Caucasus. The Russians succeeded in getting possession of almost impregnable fortresses, although they had but a handful of men. Acting as he did on the defensive in Europe, the sultan meant to strike a vigorous blow in Asia. At the very beginning of the war he ordered the Seraskier of Erzerum with an army of 40,000 men to make incursions in various directions upon Russian territory beyond the Caucasus. Russia was at that time in a very awkward

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position. Her main force had already passed the Danube, and the troops of the Caucasus had recently returned from the Persian war worn out with continual fighting and sickness. Not more than 12,000 men could be mustered; provisions and military stores were exhausted; the means of transport and the artillery were alike inadequate. The Mussulman provinces, roused by the instructions sent by the sultan, only awaited the arrival of the Turks, their coreligionists, to rise against the Russians *en masse*. Everywhere was agitation, and everywhere treason. There was need of a clear head and great military skill to ward off the dangers which threatened the army of the Caucasus. But Paskievitch displayed extraordinary energy. He was to be found everywhere. With 12,000 men he marched into Asiatic Turkey and surprised the enemy by appearing under the walls of Kars, a celebrated fortress even then. The attempts of the Russians to capture it in 1807 had been fruitless. Paskievitch, however, took it by storm in less than four days.

The Turkish soldiers sent by the seraskier to invade Georgia on the side of Kars retired to Erzerum. Meanwhile danger threatened the Russians on the other frontier. About 30,000 Turks were being massed on the frontiers of Guria, a Georgian province, and on the road to Akhalzikh, under two celebrated pashas. Paskievitch, hastening to anticipate them under the walls of Akhalzikh, was delayed by an unexpected obstacle. The plague broke out among his men, nearly every regiment being affected. After a delay of three weeks to recruit his forces, he moved rapidly on Georgia and took two important fortresses. The troops had a most difficult passage over the mountains, which were considered impassable, and after suffering greatly from the heat reached Akhalzikh at the same time that the two pashas appeared under its walls. They had come from Erzerum with 30,000 men. Paskievitch at once attacked and defeated both. He drove their troops into the forests, got possession of four fortified camps and all their artillery, and was thus enabled to turn the Turkish guns against Akhalzikh.

Akhalzikh had been founded by the Circassians—a very mountain stronghold amid the defiles. It had become a rallying-place for the rebels of various creeds and races, and was celebrated throughout Asia Minor for the warlike spirit of the natives. The city included within its walls 50,000 inhabitants, who traded with Erzerum, Erivan, Tiflis, and Trebizond. It had belonged to the

Turks for three centuries, no foreign flag during that period having been seen on its walls. The town is practically a fortress hanging on a precipitous rock, the houses being built like fortresses, and the inhabitants trained to feats of arms—every one a soldier.

Feeling confident in his strength, the Pasha of Akhalzikh, when called upon to surrender, answered proudly that the matter must be decided by the sword. He remained firm, although the Russian batteries kept up a continual fire on the place during three weeks. Meanwhile the scanty supplies of the Russians were exhausted, and only two alternatives presented themselves: either to abandon the siege or to take the place by storm. If the siege was raised, there would be much rejoicing among the enemies of Russia, both open and concealed. If, on the other hand, they attempted to take it by storm, the whole army might perish in the struggle with an enemy five times as strong.

Paskievitch had the courage to attempt the latter course. On August 26, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the storming column, led by Colonel Borodin, commenced the assault, and after incredible resistance forced its way into the town. Here a desperate struggle awaited them. It was necessary to carry by storm each house in succession, and every step in advance was dearly bought. The battle lasted all night in the midst of a conflagration which extended over the whole city. Several times fortune seemed to favor the enemy, who were very numerous. The Russian commander, however, skillfully kept back the weakest of his columns, sent regiment after regiment into the engagement, and was eventually victorious. On the morning of August 28 the flag of St. George waved over the fortress of Akhalzikh.

The conqueror hastened to stop further bloodshed, and gave protection to the vanquished. He established order in accordance with the customs of the people, and having restored the ruined fortifications, turned the city of Akhalzikh into a strong position of defense for Georgia on the side of Asiatic Turkey. The taking of Bayezid, at the foot of Mount Ararat, by a separate detachment made the district of Erivan also secure. Thus in less than two months, with the most limited means at his disposal, Paskievitch had carried out the orders of his government, and the threatened invasion of the Russian dominions in the Caucasus was averted, the invading forces scattered, and the pashalics of Kars and Akhalzikh were in possession of the Russians.

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The successes of the Russians in Europe in the year 1828 had not led to similar results. In spite of the many and decisive victories, both by sea and land, the taking of two principalities, of the greater part of Bulgaria, and a considerable part of Anatolia, the capture of 14 fortresses and 30,000 prisoners, the sultan still refused to listen to any terms. He had no doubt many English and French advisers who urged him to continue to hold out; and owing to an unexpected event, he was still further confirmed in his resolution to prolong the war.

At the end of January, 1829, Griboiedov, the Russian ambassador at Teheran, was murdered, with a great part of his suite, by a fanatical mob. Before the outbreak of the war with Turkey Russia had had a quarrel with Persia. In 1826 she had declared war. Abbas Mirza, the heir to the Persian throne, had invaded the province of Elisavetspol with 50,000 men. The Mussulman populations in the Caucasus rose at his approach, but Madatov had succeeded in defeating the Persians, and Paskievitch and Benkendorf were also victorious. At last the Persians sued for terms, and in the result the provinces of Erivan and Nakhitchevan were ceded to Russia by Persia by the Peace of Turkmantchai, in February, 1828. The Persians had been greatly irritated by the losses which they had sustained as the result of the recent peace; and the *émeute* in which Griboiedov was killed was in reality a result of that irritation, though nominally caused by his having sheltered some Christian women at the embassy. The shah had already begun to mass his troops on the Russian frontiers. The sultan naturally at once opened negotiations with him; but his schemes were rendered abortive by the victorious Paskievitch, who put a stop to the war. The latter gave Abbas Mirza, the heir to the throne, to understand that the destruction of the Russian embassy at Teheran would be followed by various serious consequences for Persia; that a new war with Russia might hurl the dynasty of the Kadjars from the throne, and that the only way to atone for what had been done, and to avert the dangers which threatened him, was to ask pardon of the tsar by means of one of the Persian princes for the unheard-of insolence of the Teheran mob. Although such a proceeding was very humiliating to the proud oriental spirit, Abbas Mirza persuaded the shah to consent, and the eldest son of Abbas, Khozrev Mirza, at a grand audience, in the presence of the court and the whole diplomatic corps, asked the tsar to forgive the occurrence.

Although thus deprived of the coöperation of Persia, the sultan still hoped to set matters right by his own efforts. We must not forget the kind of man about whom we are writing. One of the most sanguinary of the Turkish sultans, Mahmud has left a terrible reputation for his recklessness of human life. It was he who murdered the unfortunate patriarch Gregory, and mowed down the janissaries. Mahmud now made preparations for renewing the war.

The force concentrated at Shumla was increased by some thousand regular troops sent from Constantinople, and the order was given to the new vizier, Reshid Pasha, cost what it might, to retake Varna from the Russians, and drive them out of Bulgaria. For Erzerum a new seraskier was appointed, with unlimited powers. Hakhi Pasha, a commander of known skill and bravery, was also sent to assist him. He was commissioned to arm 200,000 men in Anatolia, to get possession of Kars and Akhalzikh, and to threaten the Russian possessions in the Caucasus.

The emperor on his side increased the forces stationed on the Danube, and intrusted the command to Count Diebitsch. The corps of Paskievitch was also to be strengthened. Both commanders were ordered to take prompt and decisive action.

In the spring of 1829 Diebitsch crossed the Danube and laid siege to Silistria, which the Russians had not succeeded in taking during the previous campaign, owing to the early winter. The commander in chief marched to this stronghold, first, because he wanted to make secure the Russian operations beyond the Danube, and also in order to decoy the vizier out of Shumla. The active Turkish commander, taking advantage of the absence of the main body of the Russian army, naturally attacked the Russians, who were stationed at Pravadi and Bazartchik. In the middle of May the vizier came out of Shumla with 40,000 of his best soldiers and besieged Pravadi, then occupied by General Kuprianov. The chief in command was General Roth, who at once informed Diebitsch that the vizier had quitted his impregnable position. Diebitsch had expected this to happen, and, handing over affairs at Silistria to General Krasovski, himself moved on the Balkans with a great part of his army. Without a moment's hesitation he pushed forward, carefully concealing his movements, and on the fifth day was in the rear of Reshid, thus cutting him off from Shumla. The vizier, meanwhile, did not suspect the danger, and quickly occupied

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himself with the siege of Pravadi. When at length he became aware of the presence of a Russian force in his rear he took them for a small detachment of the corps of General Roth, who had ventured to block his way to Shumla. He directed his troops to annihilate the trivial (as he considered it) force of the enemy, but discovered that Diebitsch himself awaited him in the defiles of Kulevtcha. Reshid then realized completely the danger of his position, but he did not lose all confidence and resolved to cut his way through the Russian lines. He led the attack quickly and boldly, meeting everywhere with a vigorous resistance. In vain did the Turks throw themselves with the madness of despair upon the steady Russian columns, and cut their way into the infantry and cavalry. The Russians could not be shaken. Toward noon occurred a lull in the fighting, through the exhaustion of both sides. Diebitsch, making use of a favorable moment, recruited his exhausted forces by bringing up fresh regiments, and in his turn fell on the enemy. The battle was renewed with a terible cannonade on both sides. It did not long remain uncertain. The Turkish guns were silenced by the vigorous fire of the Russian batteries directed by the chief of the staff, General Toll. No sooner had the Turks begun to give way than Diebitsch moved his infantry to the front, and they advanced with the bayonet. The steadiness and rapidity of the attack threw the Turks into confusion on all sides. They took to flight and dispersed over the mountains, leaving on the field about 5000 slain, together with their baggage, artillery, and standards. The vizier himself escaped being taken prisoner through the swiftness of his horse, and with great difficulty got into Shumla with less than half of his army. The conquerors encamped within sight.

The victory at Kulevtcha had very important consequences. The vizier had been completely beaten, and felt anxious about the fate of Shumla itself. He, therefore, concentrated his forces as much as possible there, and so left the defiles of the Balkans unprotected. The defenses of the coast-line were also weakened. Diebitsch resolved to take advantage of his negligence, and only waited till Silistria should fall to cross the Balkans. When it was at length taken, through the activity and skill of General Krasovski, the commander in chief led the corps against Shumla, and commissioned Krasovski to blockade the vizier. He himself, with the rest of the army, moved rapidly to the mountains. The advanced corps of Roth and Rüdiger had cleared the way for him,

and had driven the enemy from all the positions he wished to take up. They forced the passes of Kamtchik, and came into the valleys of Rumelia, since then so deluged with Bulgarian blood. Diebitsch followed directly. Krasovski in the meantime showed such skill at Shumla that Reshid Pasha for some days took his corps for the entire Russian army, and only found out that Diebitsch had crossed the Balkans when the latter had already traversed the most dangerous defiles. In vain did he attempt to attack Diebitsch in the rear; Krasovski kept him closely blockaded in Shumla.

Meanwhile the naval forces in the Black Sea and in the archipelago, coöperating with the land forces, had taken possession of the seaports in Rumelia, Inada, and Ainos, built in the midst of the small Greek settlement, which is surrounded by Bulgarians. In the fertile valleys of Rumelia the expedition of Diebitsch found itself in a comparatively easy position. The few Turkish regiments were powerless to oppose him; he seems, however, to have lost a great many men through sickness. At length, on August 19, four weeks after having crossed the Balkans, the Russian forces came in sight of the minarets of Adrianople.

The campaign of 1829 in Asia had been equally successful. Paskievitch had concentrated all his forces in the neighborhood of Kars, for many years such a bone of contention between Russia and Turkey, and now finally belonging to the former. The forces of Paskievitch amounted to 18,000 men, and among them were Mussulmans enlisted in the districts which a short time before had been conquered by Russia. Paskievitch succeeded in occupying the important city of Erzerum, the seraskier of which place had collected 50,000 men with the view of recovering what had been lost in the preceding year, and invaded Russian territory. With this object he had sent his companion, Hakhi Pasha, to Kars with half of the army. Paskievitch seized the opportunity to defeat them separately before they could reunite. He marched across the high snow-covered range of Saganlung and came upon Hakhi Pasha, who had fortified a camp in an almost impregnable position. The seraskier was about ten versts away, and to him the Russians directed their attention, putting him to flight after a short conflict. They then turned against Hakhi Pasha and took him prisoner, with his entire force. The two camps of the enemy, with all the stores and artillery, were the substantial result of this victory. In a few days' time Paskievitch made his appearance under the

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walls of Erzerum. The seraskier wished to defend the city, but the inhabitants, trusting in the clemency of the conqueror, surrendered. In these engagements, if we carefully read the details, we find the same terrible story of the sufferings of the Armenians which has been heard in later times.

The seraskier having thus surrendered as prisoner of war, the army of Turkey had practically ceased to exist. But a new seraskier was sent by Mahmud, who collected the scattered troops as well as he could. Paskievitch defeated him under the walls of Baiburt, and had already made his plans for penetrating into the interior of Anatolia, when his victorious career was checked by the news that peace had at length been made. Mahmud had been forced to submit.

On September 14, 1829, the Treaty of Adrianople was signed. By the terms of this treaty Russia confirmed her right of interfering in behalf of the members of the Greek Church in Turkey. This concession has been censured by some extreme Russophobes, but it seems to have been in the highest degree beneficial to civilization and to humanity. The condition of the Christians had been for a long time deplorable. In the selfish attempts to preserve the integrity of Turkey (as the phrase ran) pseudo-philanthropists had turned their eyes away from the sufferings of their coreligionists. We have only to read such works as the memoirs of the Pole, Michael Czaikowski, who became a Turkish general under the name of Sadyk Pasha, to see what kind of life the rayas led under the Turks.

Of all their conquests the Russians retained only Anapa and Poti as important harbors on the Black Sea coast. Possessed of these, however, they were better able to check the active, though secret, Turkish slave-trade, as they had been endeavoring to do since the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji. The Russians also occupied Sukhum Kale, Redout Kale, and some other places which were important as affording a secure communication with Georgia. They also retained Akhalkhaliki and Akhalzikh, two very strong positions. The sultan, on his side, was to grant facilities of trade to the Russian merchants and to allow trading vessels to pass the Dardanelles. A large sum also had to be paid by him to indemnify Russian merchants for their losses since 1806. Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia were to have certain rights conceded to them, and thus these provinces were gradually released from the degrad-

ing Turkish yoke, and a new era dawned for them. Their subsequent history until they were completely emancipated is merely a record of continual efforts on the part of the Turks to shuffle out of their obligations. In consequence of this treaty the Bulgarians may be said to have been practically discovered. When Schafarik published, in 1826, his world-famous book on the languages and literatures of the Slavonic peoples, he knew so little about the Bulgarian language that he classified it as a dialect of the Servian. The Bulgarians had sunk into the lowest condition of slavery. The Malo-Russian scholar, Venelin, who traveled in the wake of the Russian army, revealed them to Europe. His adventures among them are exceedingly interesting; so timid had they become that he found them very shy in communicating anything about their language, popular songs, or customs. They seemed to imagine that all information on the point would in some way or other be used against them. Lastly, to speak of the effects of this great Treaty of Adrianople, the Turks were to recognize the independence of Greece, as the powers had agreed.

Thus for the subject peoples of Turkey the Treaty of Adrianople can be considered only as one of the most glorious events in history. Their subsequent fate will be frequently before us in the course of our narrative. With regard to Greece, the sultan, even after the annihilation of his fleet at Navarino, had only been prepared to grant the same privileges that had been conceded to Moldavia and Wallachia; but after the Russians had crossed the Balkans the ferocious Mahmud was thoroughly terrified, and agreed to all the terms which the allies proposed. On February 3, 1830, the Treaty of London was signed, which provided for the recognition of Greece as an independent sovereignty under the protectorate of the three powers, and with the same territories that were marked out in the previous protocol, with the exceptions of Acarnania, a part of Ætolia, and some islands. This was an unfortunate arrangement, because it left Janina and Thessaly still under Turkish rule, to say nothing of the important Island of Crete. Janina is in the hands of the Turks to the present day. Thessaly was not ceded to the Greeks until the Treaty of Berlin, and Crete has only recently been liberated from Turkish rule after much bloodshed.

The towns of Greece at that time were mostly in ruins, and Athens, which now boasts 100,000 inhabitants, had then only 300.

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It was not long before Turkey became entangled in a quarrel with her vassal state, Egypt. The former had fairly well carried out the stipulations of the Treaty of Adrianople. But now Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, seeing that the sultan was in great difficulties, aimed at overthrowing his rule. He was the son of a poor Rumeliot, and in his earlier days had been engaged in the tobacco trade, but having entered one of the Rumelian regiments, was sent with other soldiers to Egypt. He soon acquired influence through his great talents and his capacity for intrigue, and thus gradually worked his way to the position of pasha; that being a comparatively easy rise in a country where such matters depend not upon birth and social position, but on the mere caprice of those in authority. Mehemet introduced many western improvements and completely revolutionized the condition of the country. He also proceeded to rid himself of the Mamelukes in a very inhuman way. The Egyptian fleet had been destroyed at the battle of Navarino, but Mehemet, with astonishing activity, fitted out another, and as a reward for his assistance in the struggle with the Greeks received from the sultan the Island of Crete. In the year 1830 he had more than thirty ships of war, among them eleven ships of the line, and a regular army of 130,000 men.

Feeling now his own strength, and seeing the Porte weakened by internal rebellions and foreign wars, he conceived the idea of throwing off the suzerainty of the sultan. Under various pretexts he discontinued his payments of tribute and refused to assist Turkey in the last war with Russia. In 1831 he broke out into open rebellion. A powerful Egyptian force, led by Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Mehemet, entered Syria, a country under the rule of the Porte. Mehemet Ali declared that the Syrian pasha, Abdullah, was his personal enemy, and that as he had failed in obtaining protection from the enfeebled Porte he had resolved to seek satisfaction with his own sword. In vain did the sultan offer his mediation. Ibrahim kept on his course, and captured the Syrian towns one after another. Finally, he took the well-fortified post of Acre, got Abdullah into his power, and became master of all Syria, a rich and populous country, abounding in forests for shipbuilding purposes and suitable for commerce. Mahmud avoided a war with his powerful vassal, but declared him a rebel, who had deceived the Prophet and his lord. This step, which would at one time have been efficacious, was now inoperative. Mehemet Ali paid no atten-

tion to the threats of his suzerain, and called the sultan himself a renegade from Islam. It therefore only remained to subjugate the rebel by force. A considerable body of Turkish troops moved from Asia Minor to the Syrian districts, and was completely defeated in the passes of the Taurian Mountains. Mahmud now sent another and stronger force, under the command of his best general, the Vizier Reshid Pasha. Ibrahim engaged with him near Konieh, in Asia Minor, and after a sanguinary contest gained a complete victory. The Turkish soldiers fled in all directions, the vizier himself being severely wounded and taken prisoner.

The sultan found himself now without an army, and the road to Constantinople was open. The advance regiments of Ibrahim took Smyrna and appeared in the neighborhood of Brussa. The sultan appealed in his difficulty both to England and France, but neither power would help him. They contented themselves with making overtures to Mehemet Ali, which proved abortive.

On receiving the news of the revolt in Egypt, the Russian Government had ordered their consul to quit Alexandria. The sultan expressed himself grateful for Russian interference. General Muraviev was then sent to Alexandria, and orders were given to the Black Sea fleet, as soon as notice had been given by the Russian ambassador to the Porte, to proceed to the defense of Constantinople. General Muraviev was received in Alexandria with special honors. Mehemet Ali promised to submit to the sultan, and in the presence of the Russian general sent an order to Ibrahim to put an end to hostilities. Meanwhile the sultan, who had received no tidings of the results of Muraviev's mission, was panic-stricken by the threatening movements of Ibrahim at Brussa, and entreated the Russian ambassador, Buteniev, to obtain some troops from Russia to help him.

Accordingly the squadron of Vice-admiral Lazarev was dispatched from Sebastopol to the Bosporus. It was already at sea when General Muraviev brought to Constantinople the comforting news of the consent of the pasha to submit to the will of his suzerain. At the same time Ibrahim informed the Porte that, in obedience to the orders of his father, he had stopped all further advance of the Egyptian army, and had halted at Kutachia. The sultan was grateful to Russia, but the matter did not end there. Orders had already been sent by the Russian ambassador to Vice-admiral Lazarev to return to Sebastopol with his squadron when

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the sultan ascertained that Ibrahim, in spite of the promise given to his father and his own assurance, had renewed warlike operations in Asia Minor, had taken possession of Magnesia, and had defied the authority of the Turks in Smyrna. Mehemet Ali himself, also, was manifestly raising fresh troops for the reinforcement of his son.

Fortunately Vice-admiral Lazarev, who had not met the courier sent by Buteniev, came with his squadron into the Bosporus and cast anchor in sight of Constantinople. He had brought five vessels of the line and two frigates. The appearance of the Russian squadron under the walls of Constantinople at such a decisive moment threw the inhabitants into great excitement, and caused much perplexity in the divan. Neither the English nor the French governments watched these movements with satisfaction. The French ambassador, Admiral Roussin, even threatened the sultan with a rupture with France if the Russian ships were not sent away from the Bosporus. But Mahmud paid regard neither to the murmurs of the people nor the difficulties of the divan nor the threats of the French. Russia seemed the only power who would do anything for him, and the Russian squadron remained before Constantinople. Indeed, at the request of the sultan it was strengthened. Twenty Russian ships under the command of Count Orlov were at anchor off Buyukdere, and 10,000 infantry were encamped on the Asiatic shore at Unkiar-Skelessi under the command of General Muraviev, ready to meet the victorious Ibrahim. It was thus a complete triumph for the Russians, who had contrived to play over the other powers.

In England and France, as may be imagined, no little commotion was caused by the appearance of these new allies. The Emperor Nicholas, however, persevered in his plans; and eventually Mehemet Ali recalled his forces from Asia Minor; a Russian officer conducted Ibrahim to the confines of Syria, and as soon as the Egyptian army had crossed the Tauric Mountains the troops of Muraviev were embarked, and the fleet returned to Sebastopol.

By this means Russia procured from the sultan the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi (August 8, 1833), under which the Turks stipulated in case of an attack upon Russia to close the Dardanelles to all foreign vessels whatever. By the influence of England and France a treaty was made between Mehemet Ali and the sultan, with which the Russians were not concerned. They had in

reality gained all they wanted. Mehemet Ali remained pasha of Egypt, and received in addition Syria, with Damascus and Aleppo. Revenues were assigned to his son Ibrahim Pasha from the district of Aden, in Asia Minor. But the Eastern Question seems destined to be eternal. The sultan, constrained to yield to his rebellious vassal a considerable portion of his empire, was more than ever anxious to crush him. Mehemet Ali on his side knew that he could rely upon France, and was resolved to throw off all semblance of vassalage. The rebellious spirit which he continued to manifest left the sultan no alternative but to renew the appeal to arms. But in vain. His forces were annihilated by the splendid victory of Ibrahim at Nezib, on the banks of the Euphrates. This was a final and richly deserved blow to the man who had shown throughout such reckless disregard of human life and suffering. Mahmud died in 1839. Soon afterward the Turkish fleet at Alexandria went over to the enemy through the treachery of the capudan pasha, and Turkey was now left without either ships, money, or men. The triumphant Mehemet Ali demanded from Abdul Medjid, Mahmud's feeble-minded successor, the dismissal of his enemy, the vizier, and for himself hereditary rule over Egypt, Syria, Aden, and Crete. He supported his demands by threatening to take possession of Constantinople.

All the powers, with the exception of France, now felt the necessity of taking decisive measures to restrain the man who was threatening to destroy the peace of Europe, to use a favorite but somewhat meaningless phrase. The ambassadors of the great powers at Constantinople accordingly informed the Porte that their governments had agreed to put a stop to this new development of the Eastern Question; and proposed to the sultan that he should submit the question to European arbitration. A conference took place in London between the representatives of the five powers, England, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, and it seemed probable that an agreement would have been arrived at but for France, who still supported the pretensions of Mehemet Ali. Finally, on July 15, 1840, without the acquiescence of France, the powers agreed to the following terms: Mehemet Ali was to be hereditary ruler of Egypt; the southern part of Syria was to be given to him, but only on the condition that he recognized the suzerainty of the sultan and paid him tribute. All the other territory which was not in the pashalic of Egypt, the northern part of

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Syria, Aden, and Crete were to be restored to the Porte, as was also the fleet in the course of ten days. In the case of refusal it was agreed that no terms should be made with him, but that he should be brought to his senses by force of arms. The united fleets of England and Austria were, in that case, to blockade the coasts of Egypt and Syria; and the Russian fleet was to protect Constantinople in the event of an attack on the part of Ibrahim. Mehemet Ali, relying upon the assistance of France, rejected these terms, and the decisive action of the powers saved Europe from a general war. The Anglo-Austrian fleet quickly took possession of the fortresses on the Syrian coast, Beirut, Said, Tyre, and Acre, and threatening Alexandria itself, compelled the pasha to listen to terms. The sultan was loath to yield him the hereditary possession of Egypt. This, however, the powers forced him to do. Mehemet consented to pay tribute to the Porte. The French reluctantly acquiesced in this arrangement.

We must now retrace our steps somewhat to describe the great Polish insurrection of 1830. The Poles had not escaped the contagion of the French outbreak of that year, which had again driven the Bourbons from the throne. There had been an inconsistency from the beginning in a union of the constitutional government of Poland with the patriarchal régime of Russia. The Poles probably did not understand constitutionalism in the same sense as we do, as the country when independent had always been dominated by an oligarchy. Many of the more thinking Poles looked with misgiving upon the outbreak, among them Adam Czartoryski, Prince Radziwill, and Chlopicki, who realized how many circumstances had to be taken into account before the insurrection could be successful. On the other hand, there were not lacking advanced democratic spirits, such as Lelewel, the historian, who were prepared for any issues.

On May 24, 1829, Nicholas had been crowned at Warsaw. He opened the diet with a speech in the French language. Some complaints were made on this occasion, chiefly relating to the nonpublication of the debates of the diet, the restrictions of the freedom of the press, and the arbitrary conduct of the Grand Duke Constantine. Nor indeed was it to be expected that a high-spirited people like the Poles, conscious of a great past (for they had been at one time the most important power of eastern Europe), should settle down into the dependency of a province. Undoubtedly, too,

the grand duke had sanctioned many capricious arrests, and was a martinet with something of the spirit of his father Paul.

On September 29, 1830, rockets were fired from various places in Warsaw, and an attempt was made by the revolutionists to seize the Grand Duke Constantine at the Belvedere palace; and many Russians and persons well affected to Russia were massacred as they hurried to the palace to announce the outbreak of the insurrection. It appears that there had been originally a plan to seize Nicholas and hold him as a hostage when he last visited Warsaw, but the plot had come to nothing. The chief command of the troops was intrusted to General Chlopicki, who had seen a good deal of service under Napoleon. He was the idol of the people of Warsaw on account of his tall stature and military bearing. He was most reluctant, however, to take the office, and seems to have nourished the idea of a reconciliation with Nicholas on the understanding that the Polish constitution should be more accurately observed.

Meanwhile the grand duke, who had retired from Warsaw, continued his retreat from the kingdom. The Poles succeeded in raising an army of 90,000 men. In January, 1831, they published a manifesto setting forth their grievances.

A few days afterward a force of 120,000 men under Diebitsch entered the country. The Russian commander issued a manifesto calling upon the Poles to lay down their arms, to which they replied by declaring at a tumultuous meeting of the diet that the Emperor Nicholas had forfeited his title as king of Poland. It was not long, however, before Chlopicki quarreled with his colleagues and resigned his authority. As general he was replaced by Prince Michael Radziwill, and the government was intrusted to a committee consisting of five members, the chief of whom was Prince Adam Czartoryski, among them being the impetuous Lelewel. The Poles were successful in some of the first battles, especially that of Grochow on February 25, 1831, but the losses on both sides were very great. Five thousand Poles were killed, while of the Russian army, the chief officers and more than 10,000 men were lost. The Poles, however, were not able seriously to impede the march of Diebitsch upon Warsaw. There was, moreover, a division in their camp; and Skrzynecki, who had been elected in the place of Radziwill, showed great hesitation. Cholera, too, made its appearance in both armies.

THE SURRENDER OF THE CIRCASSIAN CHIEF SCHAMYL TO GENERAL BARIATINSKI

Painting by Franz Roubaud

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The Poles were at great pains to win the sympathies of Europe to their cause, but they did not succeed in obtaining any effectual assistance. Much was hoped from France, as the Poles had fought in the ranks of the French, and had formed a large contingent of the army which invaded Russia. It was expected that the new and revolutionary government would do for them what the Bourbon would not. From England also nothing really helpful could be gained. Although a Whig ministry was in power, the real reason for the non-intervention of England was a suspicion of France. The exact words of the reply which the Poles received are very curious, as showing what was thought of Russia then, and how much the feeling was to change afterward. "The policy of England ought to be not to weaken Russia, as Europe might soon again require her services in the cause of order, and there was no wish that Poland should become a French province of the Vistula." Prussia favored Russia, and helped her in the war as much as she could. Austria expressed herself as willing to assist Poland, but did not arrive at that determination until it was too late. The Pope declared himself able to do nothing. On May 26 the Poles, under Skrzynecki, were defeated at Ostrolenka. The battle had cost them 7000 men, and the Russian loss was also very great; so that Diebitsch made no effort to pursue the defeated Poles. He shut himself up in his camp at Pultusk, where, on June 10, he was carried off by cholera. In the course of a few weeks the Grand Duke Constantine also expired at Vitebsk, and his wife died soon afterward.

The command of the Russian army was now given to Paskievitch, who marched on Warsaw. In that unfortunate city there occurred on August 15 another massacre of suspected persons who had been detained in prison. It is curious to find Lelewel, the democratic historian, justifying these excesses. Paskievitch appeared at the gates of Warsaw with 12,000 men and 400 guns. On September 4 he sent General Dannenberg with a proposal of capitulation to the acting Polish Government. After much bloodshed and a heroic defense, which lasted from five o'clock in the morning until late into the night, the city surrendered on the morning of September 7. The unhappy country was doomed to pay dearly for this insurrection. Shortly after the Russians entered the capital an amnesty was published, from which certain persons were excluded, *viz.*: The authors of the revolution of November

29; the members of the Polish Government; the deputies who supported the act of the separation of Poland from Russia; the assassins of the night of August 15. The Polish flag, the white eagle which they had borne to so many victories, was abolished. The Polish army was incorporated with that of Russia; the higher schools and the university were suppressed, and the libraries, including the celebrated Zaluski library, so rich in manuscripts and early printed books relating to Poland, were carried off to St. Petersburg. At length, on February 26, 1832, Poland was declared a Russian province, and the constitution which had been granted by Alexander I. was abolished.

Prince Czartoryski, in his valuable memoirs, has left us some curious pictures of the state of feeling with regard to Poland at the time. After the insurrection he found but a cool reception in England, which country he had some difficulty in reaching, being very nearly captured by the Russians at Cracow. The German states stood in great awe of the Slavonic empire. Lord Palmerston was icy and disingenuous. Earl Grey told him that the interpretation of the Treaty of Vienna would depend a great deal upon Austria and Prussia. While, however, in aristocratic circles the prince received the cold shoulder, his cause was popular among the people. A dinner was given to him in 1832, at which the poet Campbell made a speech. The Russian ambassador to the court of St. James was at that time Prince Lieven, whose wife wrote some very interesting memoirs. He complained to Lord Palmerston that Earl Grey had invited to his house the "president of the rebel government."

Prince Adam was soon afterward introduced to Lord Brougham: he found that the sympathies of that versatile man for the Poles had somewhat cooled. Prince Adam was not, however, completely discouraged. He prepared a memorandum which discussed in full the rights of Poland according to the Treaty of Vienna. Lord Palmerston informed him that representations had been made to the Russian Government anent the fulfillment of the treaty. The Russian answer to these representations came at the end of January, 1832. It was courteous in tone, but rejected the English interpretation of the treaty, and submitted that Russia had a majority in her favor, inasmuch as Russia, Austria, and Prussia were on one side and only England and France on the other. The language of Austria and Prussia was hostile to Poland in the

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extreme. So matters rested for the time, but we shall see that the Polish question was again brought up at the time of the Crimean War.

The next important measure of the reign of Nicholas was the reconciliation of the Uniate with the Greek Church. In order to thoroughly understand this it is necessary to consider under what circumstances the Uniates first arose. In the middle of the fourteenth century Russia had lost her eastern provinces to the rising grand duchy of Lithuania, then under very powerful rulers. Of course prior to that period a consolidated Russia cannot be said to have existed, but the eastern provinces, which had been acquired by Lithuania, were Russian in language and had adopted the Greek faith, Kiev, the chief city, being the very metropolis of Russian orthodoxy. While these provinces were under the government of the Lithuanian princes, their religion does not seem to have been interfered with. But in 1386 Jagiello, the Lithuanian prince, married Jadviga, the Polish heiress, and became a Roman Catholic under the name of Ladislaus. The members of the Greek Church in Lithuania were soon interfered with by the Roman Catholic clergy, and matters became worse when the order of Jesuits was founded and the great religious reaction took place. These indefatigable missionaries poured into the Russian provinces, and every effort was made to secure the adherence of the inhabitants to Rome. In these conversions the celebrated Jesuit Skarga was very active and successful on account of his great eloquence. In 1594 four Greek bishops, those of Luck, Pinsk, Chelm, and Lemberg, undertook to bring their flocks into harmony with the See of Rome. The metropolitan of Kiev lent them a hearty coöperation. These prelates assembled at Brest-Litovski, and received permission from the Pope, on their accepting the chief points of the Council of Florence, to use the Slavonic language in their liturgy and to retain certain points of discipline of the eastern church. Hence they were called Uniates.

When these provinces came back to Russia, as they did gradually, their new masters were anxious to restore the old faith; and many efforts in that direction had been made during the early part of the nineteenth century. On the death of the Uniate metropolitan, Bulgak, in 1838, the time seemed to have come for the fusion of the churches. In the following year the Russian Greco-Uniate bishops, under the leadership of Joseph Siemashko,

addressed a memorial to the tsar in which they expressed their readiness to return to the orthodox Greek Church.

During a great part of the reign of Nicholas Russia was occupied with a series of engagements with the Circassians. Her great advantage in this part of her dominions has been, as it has been with the English in India, the fact that the various races which inhabit the Caucasus, some Christian and some Mohammedan, are incapable of coöperation, and have no solidarity. They speak different languages and have different customs, and are more often engaged in petty wars with each other than with a foreign foe. The Lesghian Schamyl, who led the mountaineers against the Russians, showed administrative and military capacity. It was among the Tchetchens and the Lesghians that the great struggle took place, owing to the preaching of a fanatic, Mollah Mohammed. Yermolov, the Russian governor, repressed the agitation as best he could. The plan of Mohammed was to unite the Mussulmans in a religious war against the Russians. His scheme was taken up by two of a more military character, Mollah Ghazi and Mollah Schamyl. The insurgents soon numbered 3000 men, and had fortified such a strong position at Himri that the Russians were for some time unsuccessful in their attacks upon it. But finally, although its position seemed so impregnable, they contrived to penetrate it. Mollah Ghazi was killed and Schamyl wounded, and the Russians imagined that they had pacified the fierce mountaineers. But the place of Mollah Ghazi was taken by Hamsad Bey, who declared himself his heir and successor, and gathered together a force of 12,000 men. He was, however, assassinated in 1834. It was then that Schamyl, the hero of the Mohammedan Caucasus, showed himself in his true dignity as soldier, prophet, and statesman. He had been the friend of Mollah Ghazi, and had been thought killed at the sack of Himri. When, therefore, he reappeared among his people he was considered to be under the special protection of heaven.

While Schamyl was endeavoring to raise the Mohammedans against the Russians, the latter were not idle. General Grabe succeeded in taking the fortified post of Akulcho, but by the self-sacrifice of his followers the prophet managed to escape. His reappearance among them only confirmed the idea of his miraculous preservation, and his influence was further increased by the severe defeat which he inflicted upon General Grabe, who attacked him

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in his new fortress at Dargo in 1842. The baffled commander was recalled, and under the régime of the new governor, Neidhardt, Schamyl succeeded in even further developing his power. He established a complete political organization, and created twenty provinces to be governed by naibs. He went about with a guard of 1000 men, and established, in 1841, a cannon foundry at Veden. In 1844 Vorontsov was sent as governor to the Caucasus. The new commander resolved to surround the district occupied by Schamyl with strong outposts, and gradually to draw the cordon tighter. In 1845 Dargo was taken, and Schamyl, thoroughly divining the plan of his enemy, tried to break through the iron circle by which he saw himself every day more narrowly encompassed. But under this new system of tactics his power gradually declined. Pursued from retreat to retreat, he managed to elude the Russians for thirteen years longer, when he was at length captured and interned in Russia. A feeble attempt was made at the time of the Crimean War to rouse the Caucasus against Russia, but it led to no result.

In 1846 an insurrection had broken out in Galicia, in the course of which the peasantry murdered many of the landed proprietors. According to some writers, this outbreak was encouraged by the Austrian Government. It formed the subject of one of the most powerful productions of the Polish poet Ujejski. Although the independence of Cracow had been guaranteed by the Treaty of Vienna, Nicholas did not hesitate to march troops into the city to put down the insurgents.

Cracow had remained for some time in the hands of a revolutionary party. People fired upon the Austrian soldiers from the windows of the houses, but in many cases they paid very dearly for it, as the angry troops killed all whom they found. According to a Russian narrative, a certain Kajetan Rzuchowski was chosen the leader of the insurgents on account of his being a veteran of the army of Kosciuszko. A very vigorous address, too long to be quoted, was read to the crowds assembled in the streets. An idea of it, however, may be formed from the following sentences: "There are twenty millions of us: let us rise as one man and no one will overpower our strength. We shall have such liberty as never has been known on earth. We shall attain a condition of society in which each will enjoy the fruits of the earth in proportion to his services and capabilities." The main leader

of the revolutionary movement throughout was a certain Tissowski. Paskievitch, who was then the governor of Poland, sent troops against the town under General Paniutin. They reached the city by March 3, and the following proclamation was issued:

"Inhabitants of the City of Cracow—A powerful Russian army has come to reëstablish peace, which has been disturbed in your city. Make haste to receive it within your walls so that it may protect the innocent. Everybody who lays down his arms will be spared. But whoever is seized with arms will be put to death; and if the defense of the city is persevered in, it will be mercilessly delivered over to fire and sword. I announce this by order of his highness the governor of the kingdom of Poland, Field-marshal, the Prince of Warsaw." The city capitulated. Tissowski surrendered, and managed at first to escape, but was caught and imprisoned in Königstein. Nicholas then withdrew his forces, leaving Austria to annex Cracow and the territory assigned to it. Russia received in compensation a small piece of land between the Austrian town of Brody and the Russian Vladimir.

In 1849 the Russians assisted the Emperor of Austria in his efforts to quell the uprising of his Hungarian subjects. We shall not be able here to do more than record the main facts of the Hungarian insurrection. Kossuth had persuaded the Hungarian diet to order a levy of 200,000 national troops and the issue of forty-two million guldens, about $16,800,000, in paper money. Count Lemberg, who had been appointed by the Emperor of Austria governor of Pesth, was murdered by the insurgents on the bridge of that city. Kossuth ruled nearly the whole of Hungary as president of the committee of national defense. Windischgratz, the Austrian general, had some trifling successes over Görgei, who commanded the Hungarian army, and the Ban of Croatia, Jellachich, supported the Austrian party. By degrees the Hungarians met with more and more success, although the Rumanian and Slavonic populations in the country were not sympathetic. The Magyars took Buda, which was held for the Austrians by the brave Hentzi, a Swiss, who preferred to be killed rather than surrender the fortress.

The position of the Austrians now became a difficult one. The Magyars surrounded them, and they had no allies. Their forces had, in fact, been twice swept out of Hungary. Perplexed and humiliated, the Austrian Government turned to Nicholas with

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a request for help. He had long been the arbiter of the fortunes of eastern Europe, and boasted that he was the champion of authority. But it was probably the fact that numbers of Poles were fighting on the side of the Magyars which determined the tsar to intervene. To say nothing of others, there were the two (Polish) generals, Bem and Dembinski. Bem had been most efficient in the great struggles at Warsaw before it surrendered. Hungary was for Nicholas the house of a neighbor on fire, perilously near to his own. But we know that he afterward regretted his action. We are told that on one occasion on looking at the statue of John Sobieski at Warsaw, he said: "That man and I made the same mistake. We both saved Austria."

In 1849 the Austrian Government had appointed a new commander of their forces—Haynau, who has acquired in history such detestable notoriety. The military movements of the Russians were settled as follows: Hungary was to be attacked through the passes of the Carpathians. At Dukla, in Galicia, Field-marshal Paskievitch was already in command. General Lüders was to act against Transylvania; General Paniutin was to go to Presburg to coöperate with the Austrian army; and General Sass was to employ his detachment in drawing off the Magyars from their close pursuit of the Austrians.

The Russian troops amounted to 190,000. According to some accounts the insurgents had 200,000. The first encounter between the Magyars and the Russians took place on May 16. In Transylvania Lüders resisted the attacks of the insurgents. The Rumanians were in sympathy with the Russian invaders. On July 9 the Magyars occupied the Rothenthurm Pass of the Carpathians, but were completely defeated by the Russians. Lüders now took Hermanstadt, and made a movement in the direction of Schässburg. Here took place, on July 31, 1849, the battle in which fell the poet Petöfi, who had acted as Bem's adjutant. Bem himself barely escaped with his life, and on the Russian side General Skariatin was killed at the very beginning of the engagement. The battle was partly fought in a field of maize.

Meanwhile the detachment of General Paniutin, which acted as a reserve for the Austrian forces, gained a brilliant victory near Presburg. Görgei had resolved to attack the Austrian corps, and the divisions of Polt and Herzinger had been in great peril at the village of Pered. But General Paniutin came upon the Magyars

and drove them across the River Waag. The Austrians were thereby enabled to march against the city of Raab, which they were not long in taking.

To make sure of getting supplies the field-marshal moved his forces to Tokay. The Cossacks swam the River Theiss and took the city. But the movements of the Russian army became very much hampered, and cholera raged among their ranks. It was the same calamity that had happened to the army of Diebitsch in Poland. At this time the insurgents to the number of 60,000 were near Komorn, under the command of Görgei, having the Austrian army in front of them. Wishing to prevent the junction of Görgei with the detachment of Vysocki, by a march through Pesth or Waitzen the commander in chief left General Paniutin at Komorn with the Austrian army, and stationed the chief part of the Russian forces on the banks of the Danube.

General Paniutin again assisted the Austrians in the engagement at Komorn. The harassing movements of General Sass compelled him to hasten to the town of Waitzen, but there they attacked the Magyars with great success. The Austrian commander in chief allowed Görgei to avoid a decisive battle. Paskievitch had intended to get the Hungarians between two fires, and thus conclude the whole matter at Waitzen. Görgei marched along the left bank of the Danube, and after the Russians had been successful at the village of Tur, retreated to Losoncsa. At the village of Miskolcz the Magyars again suffered a repulse. Eventually, on August 13, 1849, Görgei laid down his arms at Villagos to General Rüdiger, in the Russian service. After having endured much obloquy for this step, the Hungarians, by a deputation sent to the aged general some years later, acknowledged that no other course was open to him. Unfortunately he and Kossuth had never been on good terms. Görgei had aristocritic prejudices, and hoped from the very beginning to be able to come to an arrangement with the house of Hapsburg. Kossuth was, on the other hand, more of a democrat. There can be no question of any treason in the conduct of Görgei. Some of the unfortunate Hungarian generals when led to execution bore ample testimony to that.

The Hungarian campaign was now at an end. But it cannot be said to have been of any service to the Russians in spite of the bravery they had shown. The pretensions of the Tsar Nicholas, to be looked upon as the great protector of law and order in Europe

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led to the jealousy of the other powers. Many of the Hungarian leaders, including Kossuth and Bem, escaped into Turkey and found refuge in Widdin.

The emperors of Russia and Austria demanded the extradition of the fugitives. But this was firmly refused by the sultan, whom Sir Stratford Canning encouraged in this attitude. The Emperor of Russia reiterated the demand, and a British fleet actually appeared in the Dardanelles. Finally, the emperors agreed to be satisfied if the fugitives were removed further into the Turkish dominions. They were transferred accordingly to Konieh, where they remained until the middle of the year 1851, when the United States placed a frigate at the disposal of Kossuth, and those of his companions who wished to go. Some Hungarians remained in Turkey, having accepted the faith of Islam; among them was the celebrated Bem, whose career had been so checkered.

Chapter XV

THE CRIMEAN WAR. 1853-1855

ALL these struggles were now thrown into the shade by the great war with England and France on the Eastern Question. This war grew out of the strained relations between Russia and Turkey. The intervention of the western powers made the struggle general, and confined hostilities chiefly to the Crimea.

England had for a long time been occupied, through her able minister, Sir Stratford Canning, afterward Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, in baffling the movements of Russia in the East. France, which, in the year 1852, had made overtures for an alliance with Russia, had now become estranged from her. Nicholas personally disliked Louis Napoleon, and disapproved of the revolutionary government from which his authority had sprung. Nor did he like the programme of the Emperor of the French, who was now just fresh from the *coup d'état,* and spoke in one of his proclamations as if he intended to repudiate some of the conditions which had been forced upon France by the Treaty of Vienna. Even while Napoleon III. was urging the advance of the allied fleets to the Dardanelles, there is good reason to think that he was making overtures to the Emperor Nicholas for an alliance on the basis of common hostility to England. The question of the Holy Places was an afterthought.

The policy of the Turks was dictated by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. Under his guidance the sultan rejected the points demanded by the Russian ambassador, Menshikov, who accordingly left Constantinople on May 12, 1853. The chief point in dispute was the right of Russia to interfere for the protection of the Greek Catholics in the Turkish dominions. The tsar in the meantime was holding those conversations with Sir Hamilton Seymour, the English minister at St. Petersburg, which have since become so famous, and in which he marked out the future distribution of the territories of the "sick man." His overtures to England to the effect that she should have Egypt, while Russia appropriated Con-

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stantinople, were rejected. Later times have not been wanting in indications that much of what the tsar said was destined to be prophetic.

On July 3, almost two months after Menshikov had left Constantinople, the Russians crossed the Pruth and entered the Danubian principalities. England and France, however, did not declare war against Russia until March 27, 1854. The first hostile encounter of the Russians and Turks took place at Isakcha, near Tultcha, on the Danube, on October 23, 1853. At this time Lord Aberdeen was prime minister in the coalition ministry. Viewing his conduct in the light of subsequent events, we cannot but feel that he acted with great prudence. The concessions which Menshikov demanded from the Porte in the matter of the eastern Christians at Jerusalem were by no means unreasonable. There was great probability that at the beginning the matter might have been arranged. The English Government refused to allow a fleet to be sent to the Dardanelles, as they were urged to do immediately on the departure of Prince Menshikov. Napoleon III., however, complicated matters by at once dispatching the Toulon fleet to Smyrna. He probably wished to embroil England and Russia, and to make any peaceful solution of the question impossible. Lord Aberdeen, who acted with caution and prudence, was continually being urged by the hot-headed politicians and military men of his time to rash action.

Even after the Russian troops had entered the Danubian principalities the English cabinet was unanimously of the opinion that efforts should be made in conjunction with France, Austria, and Prussia to discover some terms upon which Turkey and Russia might come to an agreement. The English draft convention, however, which the belligerent powers might well have accepted, did not find favor with Louis Napoleon. The European diplomatists then set to work on the basis of a French draft convention, which eventually became the celebrated Vienna Note. This note, however, although recommended by the four powers, and accepted by the tsar, was rejected by the Turks. They were willing to accept it in a modified form, but the desired modifications were not such as the powers felt disposed to urge, and they were, of course, as had been expected, rejected by Russia. The Russian refusal was couched in courteous terms, and gave as a reason the reluctance of the tsar to allow the Turks to change a document

which had been prepared by the four powers and accepted by him. Although it subsequently appeared that the note had not been interpreted in exactly the same way by Russia, yet peace still might have been secured had it not been the real wish of the sultan that the matter should end in war. In this resolution some of his western advisers confirmed him; and the Porte determined to declare war if a pacific settlement was not arranged within a certain time.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, at that time a Turcophile, but destined to change his opinions afterward, now stepped forward with a fresh note, which he declared would suit the Turks, and yet virtually contained what Nicholas demanded. Lord Aberdeen asserted that to ensure the acceptance by the Porte of the new note as presented he considered it essential that it should be accompanied by a declaration that if it were not adopted the four powers would not "permit themselves, in consequence of unfounded objections, or by the declaration of war, which they had already condemned, to be drawn into a policy inconsistent with the peace of Europe, as well as with the true interests of Turkey herself." Aberdeen, in a letter to Gladstone, showed that he rightly grasped the situation: "The Turks, with all their barbarism, are cunning enough, and see clearly the advantages of their situation. Step by step they have drawn us into a position in which we are more or less committed to their support. It would be absurd to suppose that, with the hope of active assistance from England and France they should not be desirous of engaging in a contest with their formidable neighbor. They never had such a favorable opportunity before, and may never have again." Aberdeen thought that peace might still be preserved if the Turks were required to suspend active hostilities during the progress of the negotiations. Instructions to this effect with one slight (but, as it turned out, fatal) addition made by Lord John Russell, were at once dispatched to Lord Stratford. If the Turks signed the newly proffered note before hostilities began there was good reason for believing that it would be accepted by Nicholas. Those, therefore, who desired war, and that Turkey should have the support of England and France, were anxious that hostilities should have been commenced before the note was considered. Lord John Russell had foolishly inserted in the paper the words, "within a reasonable time," and Lord Stratford allowed the Turks to interpret a reasonable time to be a fort-

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night, which was wholly inadequate. When Lord Stratford reported the slow acquiescence of the Turks it was too late. Blood had been shed, and Russia was not likely to accept the note.

Aberdeen, in a letter to Palmerston,[1] shows a complete understanding of the Turkish character and the Turkish position in Europe. He says: "If the war should continue and the Turkish armies meet with disaster, we may expect to see the Christian population of the empire rise against their oppressors, and in such a case it could hardly be proposed to employ the British force in the Levant to assist in compelling their return under a Mohammedan yoke." Had the life of Lord Aberdeen been prolonged he would have seen the Beaconsfield government sending back to Turkish misrule the enfranchised Macedonians. The wise counsels, however, of Aberdeen came too late; the war had actually begun.

The Turks now crossed the Danube, and the British fleet entered the Bosporus on November 4, 1853. Omar Pasha, the renegade Croat Michael Lattach, won the battle of Oltenitza (on the left bank of the Danube), but it would seem that on this occasion the Turks greatly outnumbered the Russians. Even then peace might have been obtained, but the wrath of the English was aroused by the naval battle of Sinope, November 30. In this victory the Turkish fleet was destroyed, and those who speak of the battle as a massacre may be referred to the admirable remarks of Sir Arthur Gordon in this connection: "Looked at in the light of after years, there was nothing in the battle of Sinope to justify the outcry of horror which it called forth. Russia and Turkey were at war—a war declared not by Russia but by Turkey. When nations are at war, an attack on the fleet of one belligerent by the fleet of the other is not only justifiable, but to be expected. Nor does the number of ships sunk or captured, the completeness of the victory, or the fact that the enemy's fleet was at anchor in one of its own ports, affect the legitimate character of the action. Less than thirty years before an English fleet, in conjunction with those of France and Russia, had destroyed the Turkish navy in a Turkish harbor, and that at a time when both England and France were at peace with Turkey. But that 'untoward event' had been as much lauded and rejoiced over in England as the untoward event of Sinope was denounced and shuddered at. The English public did not trouble itself to inquire into the legal or technical character of the transaction. It had taken the Turks into its friend-

[1] Sir Arthur Gordon. "Life of Aberdeen," p. 235.

ship and now saw its friends worsted. It dubbed the battle a massacre, and called for vengeance."

On January 4, 1854, the British and French fleets entered the Black Sea. Turkey had tardily subscribed the note. Even then the Emperor Nicholas still hesitated. He was willing to accept five of the seven proposals, but with certain reservations. Here, however, when fresh negotiations might have been entered upon, Austria was found to disagree. She rejected the Russian reservations as inadmissible, and proposed that their rejection should be followed by a summons to Russia to evacuate the principalities. Lord Aberdeen agreed to this, and the summons was dispatched, but the English Government had the mortification of finding that it was only diplomatic support which was intended, and England and France were left alone to declare war against Russia on March 27, 1854.

Already, on January 5, the Turks had gained the battle of Citate, a place on the left bank of the Danube, in Rumanian territory.

From the outset concerted action between England and France had been difficult, owing to the uncertain policy of Louis Napoleon, which did not inspire any confidence. The strings were pulled for the most part by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who had long ruled at Constantinople, and it seems pretty clear that the largest share of responsibility for the war must rest upon his shoulders. It was taken up in England by enthusiasts and newspaper politicians.

Very little was really known of the past history of either Russia or Turkey. To the majority of Englishmen, England was going to rescue the Bulgarians and Servians, who were attached to Turkey, from the onslaught of a cruel despot who had come to ravage their homes. Desperate attempts were made to render the cause of Turkey and the sultan popular. Those who are old enough to remember the war will call to mind the absurd books which made their appearance at the time, many of them being mere collections of malignant anecdotes about Russia, or political pamphlets written on behalf of the Turks, and which cannot be read now without a feeling of amusement in the light of later events. Even the English poet laureate caught up the cuckoo cry, and gave us a spasmodic poem, of which the philosophy is very much inferior to the verse.

Up to this time the war had been mainly in what were then

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styled the Danubian principalities, now the kingdom of Rumania. The Russians soon entered the Dobrudsha and the aspect of affairs began to look every day more threatening. It was clear that complications were arising. A deputation of Quakers, who visited the tsar with the hopes of even yet preventing a war, were received by him most affably, and came back with the impression that Nicholas was a man of many virtues.

On March 10 the Baltic fleet sailed from Spithead under Admiral Sir Charles Napier. Napier was a sailor of the old school. He unfortunately indulged in some bombastic phraseology at a banquet given to him before setting out, when he talked about being soon in St. Petersburg. This was afterward remembered to his discredit. England may be said to have drifted into the war without any very settled plans, and the Emperor, Napoleon III., eagerly clutched at it, as tending to consolidate his newly founded dynasty. He was also chafing at small indignities which he had met with from the tsar. On April 14 the Russians began the siege of Silistria (in Bulgaria), where the impending defeat of the Turks by the Russians was averted by the assistance afforded by two young Englishmen, Nasmyth and Butler, who joined the Turks on their way back from India. There were also many Poles fighting on the Turkish side. On April 22 the bombardment of Odessa by the allies began; here, however, but little damage seems to have been done, the allies having scruples about attacking a purely commercial and undefended port. A memorial of the English attack may still be seen in a cannon ball imbedded in the monument erected on the beach to the Duke de Richelieu, a French *émigré*, whose great share in the founding of the city has been already referred to.

In the Danubian provinces fortune continued to alternate between the Russians and the Turks, and the war dragged on with nothing decisive happening. The English fleet in the Baltic effected but little. Too often the English were engaged in burning defenseless villages and destroying property. Some wonderful seamanship, however, was displayed in Captain Hall's expedition in the White Sea, where the English appear to have committed the mistake of attacking the Solovetski monastery. On August 16, 1854, the fort of Bomarsund, on the Aland Islands, was taken.

In the Black Sea an expedition to the Crimea was finally determined upon. The English army had been for some time en-

camped near Varna, where it had lost many men by disease owing to the unhealthfulness of the place. The allied forces seem to have been imperfectly acquainted with the condition of things in the Crimea. However, on August 25, the expedition was announced. It was hoped that Russia would prove most vulnerable in this part of her dominions, it being considered to be largely populated by aliens. Moreover, this was the only point where Russia could be attacked, because both Prussia and Austria were then neutral, and allowed no passage through their dominions. Great ignorance prevailed in England at that time about the strength of Russia. Journalists talked of the Crimea being taken from Russia and handed back to the Turks. They also considered that the populations of the Caucasus were homogeneous and had political solidarity, and that the Georgians, who had endured Moslem persecution for centuries, would fight side by side with the Turks. It is hardly possible for the present generation to realize what ignorance prevailed on these questions. But England was destined to learn many things from the Crimean War.

Although the allies were in reality so ignorant of the character of the Crimea, they seem to have entertained the idea of a siege of Sebastopol, without perhaps exactly realizing how strong the place was. The Duke of Newcastle, who was secretary of war, wrote to the commander of the British forces on June 27, 1854, that he was to concert measures for the siege of Sebastopol, and added that the difficulties of the siege would rather increase than diminish by delay.

A few days after the invasion of the Crimea had been determined upon, occurred the ill-advised attack of the English upon Petropavlovski in Kamchatka. The allied fleets had been for some time at San Francisco and Honolulu, and after five weeks' voyage from the latter place appeared off Petropavlovski, on the extreme western coast of Kamchatka. The Russians had been well informed by spies of the intended attack, and were fully prepared to meet the allies when they came. Matters, however, were complicated by the suicide of Admiral Price, who was in command and who shot himself in his cabin just as the action was about to commence. He was an old man and the responsibility is supposed to have unnerved him. The Russians, partly no doubt in consequence of the confusion in which everything was placed, succeeded in inflicting severe loss on the invading party.

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On September 5 the allied armaments began to leave Varna, and on September 16 they landed in the Crimea; 21,000 English, 29,000 French, and 6000 Turks disembarked at Eupatoria, and the Crimean War had in reality begun. It has been said that the more convenient landing place which had been marked out by the English was appropriated by the French, who shifted the buoys. Certainly perfect unanimity was far from prevailing among the allies.

General Hamley, and other reliable authorities, tell us of the miserable condition in which both the English and French troops were from the ravages of cholera. It had broken out just as the expedition was about to sail. Out of three French divisions, it destroyed or disabled 10,000 men, and the English regiments while in Bulgaria lost between five and six hundred. When embarking, the troops were so enfeebled that they moved slowly from their camp, and as they were for the most part too weak to carry their knapsacks these were borne for them on pack-horses. The flotilla of the English was led and escorted by the naval commander in chief, Admiral Dundas. The Russian fleet, when the allies entered the Black Sea, lay in the fortified harbor of Sebastopol, one of the finest in the world. Their fleet consisted of fifteen sailing line-of-battle ships, some frigates and brigs, the *Vladimir,* a powerful steamer, and eleven vessels of a lighter class. If the Russian fleet had ventured out to attack the allies while crossing the Black Sea it might have inflicted great havoc, but the risk would have been very great. The divisions of infantry were commanded by the Duke of Cambridge, General Bentinck, Sir Colin Campbell, Sir de Lacy Evans, and others. The Light Brigade of cavalry was commanded by Lord Lucan. The commander in chief was Lord Raglan, who was at that time sixty-six years of age. He had served on Wellington's staff, and had lost an arm at Waterloo.

Most of the French generals had earned their spurs in Algeria, which was for the French army a training ground analogous to that which India had been for England, and the Caucasus for the Russians. The commander in chief of the French was he who went by the name of St. Arnaud. It will be remembered that Kinglake, in his book in defense of Lord Raglan, has introduced the marshal in a very unfavorable manner as Jacques Arnaud Le Roy, one of the tools of Louis Napoleon in the *coup d'état.* Hamley speaks more favorably of him. He calls him "a gallant man . . . but

frothy and vainglorious in a notable degree, and much too anxious to represent himself as taking the chief part to be a comfortable ally." However this may have been, the early death of St. Arnaud prevented him from displaying any of his disagreeable qualities.

Menshikov was the Russian commander in chief, afterward to be succeeded by Gorchakov. It was owing to Menshikov's carelessness that the Russians suffered their repulse at the Alma. He was lineally descended from the favorite of Peter the Great, whose picturesque career has been described on an earlier page. The great engineer, whose fortification of Sebastopol justly raised him to a very high position among military scientists, was Todleben. We shall meet with him later, figuring amid the sanguinary engagements around Plevna. Two other Russian commanders are especially noteworthy—Admirals Nakhimov and Kornilov, whose graves may now be seen in connection with the fortifications of the Malakov.

On September 19 the advance of the armies began, the French being on the right next the sea. They moved straight for Sebastopol. The intervening country was level and grassy, and well adapted for the march, despite the absence of roads. Hamley, who was present throughout the campaign, and from whose excellent account of it we have occasionally drawn, mentions the first sight which the English had of St. Arnaud. He was returning from a visit to Lord Raglan, and passed along the English front, "a tall, thin, sharp-visaged man, reduced by illness, but alert and soldier-like." In less than ten days St. Arnaud was dead. The valley of the Alma lay before the allied forces.

On September 20, 1854, was fought the famous battle of the Alma, named after the river on which it was fought. The Russians were defeated, as we have said, in a great measure through the bad generalship and negligence of Menshikov. The heights descend to the sea so abruptly that the Russian general seems to have relied upon them as natural defenses, and placed most of his men and guns further inland near the high road. The French stormed the heights, and the ships of the allies, keeping as close as they could to the shore, poured volleys of shot into the enemy. The English were somewhat confused by the burning of the village of Burliuk, in front of them; but crossed the river and carried a Russian redoubt. Menshikov, however, was able to retire in toler-

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able order, and to carry off his guns. Military critics do not greatly praise the tactics of the allies. If Menshikov had displayed better generalship, with such a strong position he must certainly have succeeded.

It would perhaps have been an advantageous thing for the allies directly after the battle to have marched straight upon Sebastopol, so that no time might be gained for the Russians to put it into a state of defense. Hamley, however, thinks that an immediate attack upon Sebastopol would have been not only a desperate, but a fruitless enterprise, except on the condition that the allied fleet could take a part in the attack. Had some of the ships engaged the forts, had the rest passed in and attacked the vessels of the enemy while the allied army stood on the heights above ready to descend, it is conceivable that Sebastopol might have fallen.

Hamley, in criticising the battle, at which he himself was present, says that it showed a singular absence of skill on all sides. The Russian general displayed great incompetency, he tells us, in leaving the issues of the cliffs unclosed, in keeping his reserves out of action, and in withdrawing his artillery and not using his cavalry. On the other hand, the part played by the French was not proportionate either to their force or their military repute. Of the two divisions brought at first on to the plateau, one brigade, that nearest the sea, together with all the Turks, never saw the enemy. With regard to the English, the general says there was no unity and no concerted plan, and the troops suffered accordingly.

According to all accounts the English were quite ready to march, but St. Arnaud and the French delayed them. During the three days which were allowed to pass between the battle of the Alma and the commencement of the march, no time was wasted by the Russians. Sebastopol is a place of unique strength, possessing a land-locked harbor. To bar the mouth of the harbor Menshikov was obliged to sacrifice the Black Sea fleet. By this abandonment the Russians gained 18,000 sailors who could be employed in the batteries, and the valuable services of Admirals Nakhimov and Kornilov. The splendid talents of Todleben compensated to a certain extent for the incapacity of Menshikov. The former may perhaps be styled the only man of genius who came to the front on either side during the war. When the allies arrived they found the enemy ready to receive them, and as the city was open on the northern side, in the direction of the Isthmus

of Perekop, by which they could communicate with the mainland of Russia, it was only by an assault that it could be taken.

Meantime the English were also active in Asiatic Turkey. General Williams reached Kars and set about fortifying it.

On September 26 the English took possession of Balaklava, which they made their headquarters. It was situated about six

or seven miles from Sebastopol, on the southern coast of the Crimea.

The English and French were soon engaged in getting ready the trenches, the traces of which can be clearly seen by the traveler even now, though Nature has long since resumed her power over these ruins where English, French, and Russian met in deadly grapple. On October 17 the bombardment of Sebastopol began. The Russians replied vigorously. In a few hours Todleben repaired all the mischief which had been done. On October 25

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took place the charge of the English Light Brigade, during a Russian attack upon the English at Balaklava, famous forever in history and song, but otherwise a great military blunder. It abundantly proved, what no one would dispute, the bravery of the British troops, but also showed what reckless men had the management of things, and how little knowledge of the science of war they possessed. It is only by the study of Kinglake's book that this heroic episode, so terrible in its effects, can be understood. Lord Cardigan and Lord Lucan were brothers-in-law, but not, it appears, on speaking terms at the time. An order was sent by the latter for a body of the light dragoons, to the number of about 600 men, to endeavor to recapture some Turkish guns. The order was brought by a certain Captain Nolan, a man of talent, who had served in the Austrian army, and had written a good book on cavalry maneuvers. When Cardigan hesitated to carry out an order which at the first blush appeared to him an absurdity, Nolan merely reiterated the order, and interpreted it in the way in which it pleased him best. The men, led by Cardigan, accordingly rode into sheer destruction, with the Russian guns surrounding them on every side. So amazed were the Russians at the whole proceeding that they thought at first the affair was a feint, a mere stratagem to divert their attention. When, however, they realized the blunder that had been made, they attacked their assailants from all quarters, and out of that body of men only a few more than a hundred escaped. History will probably at a future period speak more decisively and more critically of the matter; but Kinglake has not hesitated to tell us that if Cardigan had not ridden so quickly out of the hell into which they had plunged, he might have rallied the men, and more would have been saved.

This wonderful charge, which, however tactically weak, must be felt to have brought much glory upon the English arms, is described at great length by General Hamley. The order given by Lord Raglan to begin with was vague. Lord Lucan did not understand its purpose, and Nolan, who was an enthusiastic believer in the power of cavalry, ventured to interpret it as signifying that the English should endeavor to recapture some guns which the Russians were carrying off. Lucan accordingly gave the order to Cardigan, and the ride began. As soon as the brigade was in motion Captain Nolan rode obliquely across the front of it, waving his sword. Lord Cardigan thought that he was undertaking to

lead the brigade. What his exact intentions were will never be known, for a fragment of the first shell fired by the enemy struck him in the breast. His horse turned round and carried him back, still in the saddle, through the ranks, when the rider, already lifeless, fell to the ground. The brigade, when the charge was over, had lost 247 men in killed and wounded.

Passing over minor incidents, we come to the battle of Inkerman, fought in the early morning of November 5, 1854. In the misty dawn the bells of the churches in Sebastopol could be heard. A solemn mass was celebrated. The position of the allies was to be attacked. The Grand Dukes Michael and Nicholas had come to be present at the battle. The English had been suffering many privations in their camp, caused by the bad management, which seemed universal. Gradually on the morning in question the outlying pickets were driven in, and swarms of gray-coated Russians, hardly distinguishable in the mist, were seen pouring upon them from all quarters. Inkerman may be classed among those battles in which the splendid mettle of which the English soldier is made has had to contend with insufficient military knowledge on the part of his superior officers. The slaughter of the Russians was no doubt great, but how great was also that of the English! Several officers of high rank were killed, including Sir George Cathcart. The guards also lost some of their most conspicuous officers. It was a battle in which there was hardly any room for tactics. Separate parties engaged each other, but there was no general plan of the battle. The English, however, held their ground.

General Hamley thus criticises Inkerman: "This extraordinary battle closed with no final charge nor victorious advance on the one side, no desperate stand nor tumultuous flight on the other." The Russians melted away, as it were, from the field; the English were too few and too exhausted, and the French made no effort to convert the repulse into a rout.

The gloom of the November evening descended upon a field strewn with the dead and dying. The Russians are said to have lost 12,000 men in this battle and 256 officers. The English lost 597 killed, of whom 39 were officers, and 1760 wounded, of whom 91 were officers. The French are computed to have lost 13 officers and 130 men killed, and 36 officers and 750 men wounded.

The Russians after the failure of Inkerman were reduced almost entirely to the defensive. Sebastopol was still admirably

1854-1855

fortified by Todleben. All were struck by the rapidity with which he formed new works. The allies were amazed at the creation of the white works, as they were called (the Selinghinsk and Volhynian redoubts), which were to defend the approaches to the Malakov. Menshikov was now recalled, and Gorchakov was sent in his place.

The winter of 1854-1855 was a severe one, and was felt more than ordinarily so in the neighborhood of the Black Sea and in the trenches. The English troops were badly housed and badly fed, and many of the wounded suffered a great deal from the want of necessaries. This was all owing to bad management, as vessels loaded with supplies were in the harbor.

The siege dragged on. But the strength of the empire was being gradually exhausted. By February 50,000 Russians were already *hors de combat,* and among them Kornilov, the most illustrious victim. The troops arrived in the Crimea worn out by the long marches and the miserable roads.

In January Sardinia joined the allies. The Aberdeen ministry, owing to its supposed dilatoriness, had, meanwhile, been forced to resign. Some thought that Lord Aberdeen, like so many of the conservatives of the period, was sympathetic with Russia. And, indeed, it was rather difficult for conservatives to understand that they must suddenly execute a *volte face.* Russia, since the overthrow of Napoleon, had been considered the very pillar of good order in Europe. When the Poles in their death struggles in 1831 had appealed to the English, they were told that that country did not want a French outpost established on the Vistula. Old conservative gentlemen were seen attending great functions blazing with Russian orders. They had occasionally visited the emperor and were hospitably entertained by him. Certainly the tsar had a wonderfully genial manner, which won the hearts of those who came in contact with him. The traditions of the English had been decidedly pro-Russian before this unfortunate war. Nicholas seems to have relied too much upon the sympathies of an English party. It was reported that he said when the Crimean War was just breaking out: "I am sure my old friend Aberdeen will not be against me."

On February 5 the new Palmerston ministry came in, under the leadership of a man who had a reputation for a spirited foreign policy. But on March 2, 1855, Nicholas died. There does not

appear to be the least truth in the report which some people then and afterward attempted to circulate, that the emperor died a violent death, either by the hands of others or his own. In a very raw spring he had foolishly exposed himself, and was hurried to his grave by a chest disease. On his deathbed he said to the tsarevitch: "Thou seest at what a time and under what circumstances I die; thus it has seemed good to God; it will be hard for thee." He enjoined the tsarevitch to emancipate the serfs—a necessary measure, but one which would shake Russia to the center.

PART IV

PROGRESS OF THE MODERN SPIRIT
1855-1917

Chapter XVI

ALEXANDER II. AND LIBERAL PROGRESS

1855-1881

WHEN the new tsar ascended the throne he found the country in a very critical condition. Russia was being exhausted by the drain upon her. The English, although their efforts had not been crowned with any very brilliant results, were well furnished with the sinews of war; the French had tired of the campaign. A new element was added by the appearance of 15,000 Sardinians in the field. The English had some success in the Black Sea, and Kertch was taken. Previous to this, on March 22, 1855, the Russians made a great sortie from Sebastopol, which was ultimately driven back.

On April 4 a second Baltic fleet left Spithead; the Russians, however, had profited by the experience of the preceding year and had carefully fortified many exposed places. The English were annoyed when later on this fleet returned having accomplished so little.

The fall of Sebastopol was now approaching. On June 6 took place the third bombardment. The hill styled the Mamelon was soon afterward taken. In Sebastopol itself the Russians had suffered greatly, and two of their most distinguished naval commanders had been killed, Admiral Nakhimov, the hero of Sinope, and Admiral Kornilov. On June 18 the English and French were repulsed from the Malakov and the Redan. The arrangements for the assault had been badly made, the rockets were fired in a confused manner, and the assaulting parties did not go forward simultaneously. The raw recruits were not able to hold their position, and leaped back from the embrasures. Many brave men gave up their lives there. On June 28 died Lord Raglan, the English commander in chief, a noble-minded man, to vindicate whose memory Kinglake wrote his book. Raglan was perhaps too old a man to undertake such an expedition, but he thought it his duty to do so. The Sardinians won the battle of the Tchernaya on August 15. It is interesting to think that the great novelist, Tol-

stoi, fought in the Russian ranks on that occasion. How easily might the chance shot of an Italian peasant have deprived the world of the masterpieces "War and Peace" and "Anna Karenina."

Finally, after three days of terrible bombardment, the Malakov was taken by assault (September 8), and Sebastopol became untenable. The Russians abandoned the southern side of the city. They were seen in the night hurrying with their ammunition and stores across a bridge of boats. They left to the English and French only bloodstained ruins, and no attempt could be made to occupy the place, which afforded no protection.

As some compensation for the humiliation which she had undergone Russia had been able to take Kars from the Turks (November 25), although it had been bravely defended by General Fenwick Williams. The so-called Mingrelian expedition of Omar Pasha ended in a complete failure; he found the people whom he imagined he was going to raise against the Russians wholly unsympathetic.

The representatives of England, France, Austria, Russia, and Turkey signed the preliminaries of peace February 25, 1856. The final peace was signed at Paris on March 30. Russia gave back Kars to Turkey, and regained the places in the Crimea which had been taken by the allies. She renounced the protectorate of the Danubian principalities, which were to receive a new organization under the suzerainty of the sultan and the control of Europe. She renounced also all pretensions to a protectorate of the Christian subjects of the sultan; and she submitted to a rectification of her frontiers, *i. e.*, she ceded a portion of Bessarabia to that state which was afterward to become Rumania, although at the time entitled the Danubian principalities. Russia also lost her right of having ships of war in the Black Sea, and she was not to fortify the Aland Islands in the Baltic. Some of the signatories of the treaty were anxious that a clause should be inserted whereby the sultan should stipulate that his Christian subjects should enjoy religious freedom. This was mainly suggested by England; but to save the susceptibilities of the sultan, it was announced that this declaration proceeded from "the free inspiration of his sovereign will." The powers, on the other hand, agreed in no way to interfere in the government of Turkey. Moreover, the integrity of the Ottoman empire was guaranteed.

Such were the terms of the Treaty of Paris, which, for selfish

1856-1861

reasons, abandoned the Christians to the tender mercies of their Mohammedan masters. It may be truly said that all the powers who were cosignatories of it have repudiated it. It is rather interesting to see how few of the conditions have been held binding. Kars now belongs to Russia. The Danubian principalities have become the kingdom of Rumania, entirely independent of the sultan. The portion of Bessarabia which had been ceded to Rumania has been taken back again by Russia, and Rumania has received compensation by accepting the comparatively worthless province of the Dobrudsha, with its Tatars. Russia has acquired the right of having ships of war in the Black Sea, and Sebastopol is rebuilt as a military and naval fortress. The sultan has never made the slightest effort to concede any privileges to his Christian subjects, and even if he had attempted anything of the kind would not have been able to carry it out.

Russia, by this treaty, receded for a time from the position which she had held in Europe. She had completely regained it until the war with Japan brought both her army and navy into general discredit. Freed now from war, she began to set herself about building up again the fabric of her social life. There was an enormous reaction after the Crimean War, which had humiliated the nation, and liberal ideas began to prevail. The next great step was the emancipation of the serfs.

Serfdom in Russia, as in all Slavonic countries, is a modern institution. In Poland and Bohemia it dates from the fifteenth century; in Russia from the close of the sixteenth, and we may say even later. It was Boris Godunov who first chained the serf to the soil, for economic reasons solely, as Chicherin shows. But the serf was not legally fixed to the soil until the Ulozhenie, or Ordinance of the Emperor Alexis, in 1649. Peter the Great did something to amend his position, as we have seen, and there was a gradual, but, it must be confessed, slowly developed desire to give him liberty altogether. It was felt that this must be done, but no monarch seems to have had the courage to carry through such a great economic revolution. On his deathbed Nicholas had enjoined it upon his son, and in 1861 the act of emancipation was decreed. Twenty-two millions of human beings received personal freedom. The landlords were to be paid an indemnity. Their serfs were released from their seigniorial obligations. The land of the village commune became the actual property of the serfs.

The indemnity was paid by the help of sums advanced by the government, and an interest of six per cent. was added; in forty-six years' time the government was to be entirely reimbursed.

This great economic revolution was carried with comparatively few outbreaks on the part of the peasants. In some districts of Russia, as, for instance, the government of Kazan, there were riots among the peasants, who could not understand how it was that they had to pay for land which they had always regarded as their own. Special commissioners were appointed, and district judges, to arrange the complicated questions between the proprietors and the peasants. These riots were soon quelled, although they were frequently taken advantage of by anarchists. Two ardent laborers in this great work were Yuri Samarin and Cherkasski. The *petite noblesse* of Russia seem to have suffered the most, as they were in the habit of employing their peasants as domestics, and were thus deprived of their services.

Alexander II. surrounded himself with liberal coadjutors, as if to break as much as possible with the old order of things. Valuyev became minister of the interior, Reutern of finance, Dmitri Milutin of war, and Golovnin of public instruction. In 1864 the law was promulgated by which the zemstvos were created. These are provincial assemblies, consisting of representatives of the landed proprietors, the artisans, and peasants, who regulate the incidence of taxation, and settle matters affecting public health, roads, and other provincial needs. A great deal was done for education, and the universities were made practically independent. The finances also of the country, which had been greatly embarrassed by the Crimean War, now under judicious management, began to ameliorate. In 1871 Russia was financially sound.

In 1863 broke out the second great Polish insurrection. The country had for some time been in a disturbed condition. The repression exercised by Nicholas had not been successful; her political life being apparently extinct, Poland had clung to her religion and language. At the commencement of his reign, April 21, 1856, Alexander had made a memorable speech to the deputies of the nobility at Warsaw. He had said that he wished the past to be forgotten, but he concluded his speech with the memorable words: "Gentlemen, let us have no dreams!"

In the same year Prince Michael Gorchakov appeared as governor, and commenced a mild régime. Offers were made to the

1861-1863

Polish *émigrés* to return, under somewhat favorable conditions, but few availed themselves of the offer. Scattered throughout Europe, especially in France, Switzerland, and England, they formed a considerable body, and might roughly be divided into two classes: the whites or moderates, who looked up to Prince Adam Czartoryski as their head, and the red or revolutionary party. Adam Czartoryski had, however, died in 1861, and his place had been taken by his son Ladislaus, also now deceased. Those of the nobility who had remained in their native country lived quietly on their estates, and secretly did what they could to unite their countrymen. The Russians, however, did not interfere with them unless they entered into communication with the *émigrés*. They continued as of old to exercise a certain patriarchal government on their estates—the kind of government which always seems congenial to the Slav, until he has been brought under other influences. The condition of the peasants was that of complete serfdom. There was, however, a society among the nobles, the chief of which was Prince Andrew Zamojski, who were bent upon improving the condition of the land and the peasants upon it, and this was called the Agricultural Society. Prince Andrew Zamojski was a man of liberal ideas, who had been educated in the University of Edinburgh. So popular did this society become, that it soon numbered more than 5000 supporters. Zamojski managed to keep it for some time without coming into direct collision with the government, but it soon became evident that its development would be interfered with.

For some time there had been a restlessness in the country, and political manifestations began to take place in the streets. The churches were filled with people in mourning, who sang the pathetic Polish hymn, "*Boze, cos Polske!*" On a service being held in commemoration of the battle of Grochow, riots occurred, and some of the spectators were killed. When the funeral of the victims took place one hundred thousand persons followed the procession. Alexander was willing to make many concessions to the Poles; he established municipal councils at Warsaw and in other cities of Poland. The Marquis Wielopolski, a Pole, was appointed director of public instruction, and Polish was to be the official language of the ancient kingdom. On the other hand, on April 6, 1861, the Agricultural Society was suppressed. The Poles seemed apathetic about the concessions of the emperor. A large gathering of the people took place, and was fired on by the Russian troops. It does

not seem clear whether this deplorable event resulted by accident, or whether the Russians mistook the purpose of the Poles in singing the celebrated war song of Dembinski, "*Jeszcze Polska nie zginela.*"

The government, however, still hoped to be able to arrange matters, and General Lambert was appointed viceroy, charged with a mission altogether conciliatory. He allowed the celebration at Horodlo, near Lublin, of a grand fête in honor of the ancient union of Poland and Lithuania. The anniversary of the death of Kosciuszko, October 15, saw the churches thronged with people, and led to the arrest of large numbers. Gerstenzweig, the governor of the town, committed suicide in consequence of the reproaches of General Lambert, who was recalled, and replaced by General Lüders. This administration also proved a failure, and the Grand Duke Constantine, the tsar's brother, was appointed viceroy in 1862.

Meanwhile, the extreme party had been very active. On June 27 an attempt was made upon the life of General Lüders, two attacks were made upon the Grand Duke Constantine, and two upon Wielopolski, but they were all unsuccessful. The moderate party in the country seemed to feel no sympathy with the changes introduced. The more concessions made to them the more their demands seemed to grow. Thus even those who were prepared to accept the tsar's reforms required that Lithuania and the eastern provinces should be reunited to Poland. On the night of January 15, 1863, a number of persons obnoxious to the government were seized in their beds and forced to serve in the Russian army.

The insurrection now broke out, and was directed by a secret committee at Warsaw called Rzad (the government). The proceedings of this institution were mysterious. No one could tell whence their proclamations emanated, but they were widely diffused and struck terror. The extreme Russian party was especially angry at the attempt of the Poles to claim Lithuania as Polish. It had been in its earliest days orthodox, and most of the governments which composed it were of the Little Russian nationality. As the Russians made so little progress in putting an end to the insurrection, the emperor sent for Count Muraviev, a veteran, who had been wounded at Borodino, and at the time of his appointment was sixty-seven years of age. He nominated him dictator of the whole northwestern district, and his headquarters were to be at Vilna, where he arrived

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in May. At that time the rule of the Russians was at a very low ebb throughout the country. According to the account of a Russian writer the military received the new governor joyfully, but the civil authorities, most of whom are Poles, with visible displeasure. The Jews were waiting to see what would happen. The Roman Catholic clergy spoke of all attempts at quelling the insurrection as likely to fail, and declared that the insurgents were comparatively few in number and insignificant. Soldiers were now distributed by Muraviev over the whole district, and the villagers were fined if it was found that any among their number had joined the insurgents. There were also fines to be paid by all those who wore mourning. Sentences on leaders of bands were pronounced and carried out at once. Thus two priests were executed in one week for complicity in the insurrection. The landed proprietors found themselves in a very awkward position. The bands of the insurgents visited their estates, and if they would not help them frequently put them to death. Sometimes the Russian soldiers found an unfortunate gentleman hanging by the neck in his own drawing-room. On the other hand, if they helped the rebels in any way they were executed by the Russians. They received orders from the St. Petersburg government to reside on their estates, and were held responsible if any disturbances took place upon them. The peasants in many places were formed into a rural guard, for it is well known that frequently they showed no sympathy with the insurrection.

The Russians had 87,000 men in Poland, against whom the insurgents were powerless in spite of their bravery. Indeed all thinking persons are agreed that this last great Polish insurrection was ill-planned and never had a chance of success. Owing to the frontier in the direction of Prussia being sealed and everything being done to impede the insurgents, most of the fighting took place on the borders of Galicia. The Poles contended with enormous difficulties; they could never take a town, as they had no artillery for the purpose. They trusted rather to the dense forests with which the country abounds. They were for the most part undisciplined, except when they were returned *émigrés* who had seen foreign service. They frequently had no muskets, but were armed with pikes, scythes, and even sticks. The Russians, on the other hand, had the benefit of the latest weapons. Moreover, the insurgents had hardly any medical appliances, and wonderful stories

are related even in the Russian accounts of their firmness amid unparalleled sufferings.

The bands of insurgents generally consisted of priests, small landowners, petty officials, and peasants without land. Marian Langiewicz succeeded in getting a band of 3060 men, and after fighting for three days was forced to cross the frontier into Galicia. Meanwhile, the secret committee was very active and was directed by a council of five. Armed agents were appointed to carry out the secret decrees of the government (Rzad) by assassination. This government even had its special seal which was affixed to all its documents. The emissaries who carried out the orders for putting obnoxious people to death were called *stiletchiki,* because they carried secret daggers. Their first victim was the secretary of Wielopolski, who was killed as a spy. A singular case was that of the Jewish spy, Hermani, who was stabbed in the Hôtel de l'Europe at Warsaw, a building full of secret passages and interminable labyrinths. His treachery to the cause of the insurgents had been proved by one of the secret emissaries visiting the house of the governor-general, disguised as a Russian tchinovnik, during his absence and opening his cabinet with false keys. Muraviev at Vilna got up a petition among the nobility there to show their reconciliation with the government. The head of these nobles was a certain Domejko. The Rzad at once sent from Warsaw to Vilna with the object of killing some of the more loyal of the nobles, and an attempt was accordingly made upon the life of Domejko.

By the month of June the insurrection seemed to get weaker. In November, 1863, tranquillity was restored in the northwestern part of the country. Thereupon Muraviev occupied himself with settling the peasants on the land, and releasing them from the heavy barstchina or *corvée* which was due to their masters. He closed some of the monasteries, and established schools where Russian was taught. He then left the country, having earned the hatred of the Poles more than any other Russian. He died suddenly in 1866.

The chiefs of the insurgents were hanged when captured. Such was the fate, among others, of Mackiewicz, a priest; Narbutt, the son of the historian; and Sierakowski, who had been an officer in the Russian service. They all met their fate with unflinching courage. Meanwhile, the Rzad were as active as ever. They seem, as far as their secret proceedings have been unraveled, to

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have met in a room of the university. They issued newspapers, and no one could discover who printed them. When the emperor offered an amnesty they issued a decree forbidding anyone to pay attention to it. They levied taxes which were scrupulously paid, and they continued to get possession of large sums from the government treasury. All these successes of the insurgents put the government, as administered by Wielopolski and the Grand Duke Constantine, in very poor contrast with the success of Muraviev. In July Wielopolski resigned and retired to Dresden; the Grand Duke Constantine was recalled a month afterward, and Count Berg was made dictator. He began by forming a police of 3000 soldiers and sixty officers, divided the city into districts, and each officer had to know what was going on in the houses of his district. An attempt was made on the life of Count Berg from the windows of the Hôtel de l'Europe, which was the property of Count Zamojski. It was sacked and for a time converted into a barracks. The furniture was thrown out of the windows, and there perished, among other things, some valuable oriental manuscripts and a pianoforte which had been used by the great Polish composer Chopin. The last engagement of the insurrection took place at Opatow, in the government of Radom (February 22, 1864). By May, 1864, the insurrection was suppressed; the Russians succeeded in apprehending the five heads of the secret committee, and they were executed.

This rash outbreak, for it can be called nothing else, had cost Poland dear. The title of Kingdom of Poland has now disappeared from all official documents; and the governments are sometimes spoken of as the districts by the Vistula. The University of Warsaw has been completely Russified, and the government schools also. In order to secure the allegiance of the peasant a ukase of March 26, 1864, gave him the complete possession of the land of which he had been the tenant. The *corvées* were abolished. Some of the restrictions enacted with reference to the use of the national language have been relaxed under Tsar Nicholas II.

The war in the Caucasus was brought to a close in 1864. Schamyl had surrendered to Prince Bariatinski as far back as 1859. He was sent to live at Kaluga with a pension of 10,000 rubles. The Circassians emigrated in large numbers to the Turkish dominions, where they formed a somewhat lawless element of the population.

Many were planted among the Bulgarians, but the altered climatic conditions produced epidemics among them. They died in great numbers. It was the intolerable persecutions endured from these barbarians which drove the Bulgarians into revolt.

It was in 1866 that the great Circassian immigration took place. These miserable pilgrims arrived in great numbers, to the utter perplexity of the Turkish authorities. Eighty thousand came to Varna alone. A great many died on landing. A reliable account of them has been furnished by Barkley in his "Bulgaria before the War," from which we propose to make a few extracts, as our readers will thereby realize how difficult it was for the Russians to come to any arrangements with such people, and how idle it was for the English to talk of making them into a kind of independent nation, which should act as a bulwark against Russia. The word Circassian is used in the loosest possible sense, and is made to include all the motley populations of the Caucasus—Lesghians, Abkhasians, and even Georgians and Mingrelians. It is only by reading such books as Erckert on the races of the Caucasus that we can realize the multiplicity of their languages and how little solidarity they really possess. Lord John Russell indiscreetly remonstrated in his official capacity with the Russians on the supposed expulsion. To this the Russians answered with a good deal of *aplomb,* that the Circassians had been invited to leave off their marauding habits, and to settle down as agriculturists, and that lands had been allotted to them for the purpose. Moreover, when Lord John pointed to the depopulation of the country as a sign of its bad government, he was reminded that if the diminution of the number of inhabitants was a sign of misrule, he must apply the same principle to Ireland, the population of which had declined by one-half. Barkley says of these people: "They are a race of marauders and cattle-lifters, and the whole of them may be said to live by theft. They had not been in the country [Bulgaria] a month before they were at their favorite occupation, and before six months were over nearly all the men were mounted, though when they landed they had not money to buy food to stave off starvation. The old residents, both Christian and Mussulman, had at once to take precautions for the protection of their beasts, and for the first time in Turkey each village had to keep a strong patrol on the alert all night." Yet, as Barkley continues to tell us, these picturesque thieves would steal a horse or a cow under the very nose

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of the Turkish guard, and could rarely be caught. If, however, they were caught they were shot down like dogs and buried in the nearest hole. But even the dead were not safe. So poor were the Circassians that, as our author tells us, they dug up corpses for the sake of the rags in which they were buried.

And yet these were the men whom the English Turcophiles would fain have elevated into heroes. These were the men who elicited the warmest sympathies of such one-sided enthusiasts as Laurence Oliphant. The Turk is a lazy man, but his laziness is as nothing compared with that of the Circassian. At the close of the Crimean War Sir Charles Wood, afterward Lord Halifax, in replying to the charge that the government had deserted the Circassians showed that the English had at last awoke to the knowledge of what the Circassians really were. He avowed that he had discovered the populations of Georgia, Mingrelia, and Imeretia to be in favor of the Russians. How could it possibly be otherwise? Speaking of the hill tribes, he confessed that they were like the Highland cattle-lifters, with no idea of union or coöperation, but with each man's hand against another. Nothing would have been more difficult than to establish a common government with which any negotiations could be opened.

To return, however, to the Bulgarians, we must bear in mind this last load of suffering heaped upon them. Their condition had been gradually getting worse; no security for life or the purity of the family. The brutal government of the renegade Greek, Midhat Pasha, further complicated matters. According to Barkley, he hanged everybody he suspected, and the roads were filled with miserable peasants dangling in the air. We cannot wonder that such a man paved the way for the great Bulgarian outbreak, of which we are shortly to hear.

On April 16, 1866, took place the attempt of Karakozov upon the tsar. Up to that time no man of the people had been found guilty of such a crime, and the deed created a profound impression. It was followed by reactionary measures, and the Slavophile party gained the ascendant. They had been foremost in advocating the complete Russification of the empire. Many efforts in this direction were now made in the Baltic provinces, where, however, it must be remembered that the German element is very much in the minority, whatever dignity may be assigned to it as the language of culture. The University of Dorpat has become more and more

Russified, and the name of the city restored to that which it had in the earliest times, Yuriev.

During this period anarchists had become more active in Russia. The mild counsels of such men as Herzen, who edited the *Bell* for many years in London, were no longer of any influence. A preacher of the new doctrine was Bakunin, who may be said to have been the founder of Nihilism in the sense in which it is understood now, although the word itself is believed to have been invented by Turgeniev. Bakunin escaped from Siberia, and joined Herzen in editing the *Bell*. The consequence, however, of this was that the paper began to decline, and its sale fell off to such an extent that it was soon given up. During the rest of the reign of Alexander we shall find the Nihilists very active, and terminating their conspiracies by the murder of the tsar.

The question of Turkey was destined soon to come to the front again. England had gained but little by the Crimean War. Russia was only temporarily checked. In constituting herself the protector of Turkey, England was obliged to lean upon the broken reed of many delusive hopes; Turkey was to be regenerated; equal religious freedom was to be granted to all her subjects; and a variety of other fantastic notions were in vogue. The unnatural union between a country of progress and constitutionalism like England with a worn-out oppressive despotism had somehow to be explained away. English statesmen have at last, even the most conservative, realized that the future of eastern Europe lies with the Slavonic races, and that they must be reckoned with.

A crisis in Turkish relations was reached in 1876. The trouble began with the appearance of Russian volunteers in the Servian revolt. The Servians fought bravely, but of course were no match for their foes either in numbers or discipline. Moreover, the Turkish army has always enjoyed the advantage of the training of western adventurers and mercenaries. As the Servians at length were losing ground everywhere, and the Turks invading their territory, the Russians stepped in as their natural allies. The whole Balkan peninsula was in a state of ferment. The insurrection in Bulgaria had been repressed by the Turks with great cruelty, and all Europe resounded with the accounts of the massacres which they had committed. The Bulgarian uprising had taken place immediately after the outbreak in Herzegovina. A revolutionary committee was active in Bucharest, and it was there that the youth-

ful Stambulov first made himself conspicuous. At the close of 1875 the Turkish bashi-bazouks [1] were plundering and murdering everywhere, and fruitless attempts at peace were made at the Constantinople conference in December, 1876, and January, 1877. On this occasion, as on many others, the Turks were misled by the sympathy of their English supporters, to whom they assigned greater influence than they really possessed. Among the proposals at this conference were the increase of the territory of Montenegro, the rectification of the frontiers of Servia, and the local autonomy of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, with Christian members in the governing body. Turkey proposed to offer as ample satisfaction the sham constitution concocted by Midhat Pasha.

On April 24, 1877, Russia declared war at Kishinev against Turkey, and on June 22 the crossing of the Danube by the Russian troops began. It lasted four days. Turkey in Asia was also invaded on the side of Armenia. The European army was under the command of the Grand Duke Nicholas, brother of the emperor, and Generals Nepokoi-shitski and Levitski for chief officers. The Russians had already made a treaty with Rumania, whereby they were granted a free passage through that country. They were spread out along the left bank of the Danube, having the Rumanian army on their extreme right, opposite to Widdin. There were some Turkish monitors at hand, but they seemed powerless, and two of them were blown up by Russian torpedoes before Matchin. The river was crossed at Sistova, and the great effort was to advance upon the Shipka Pass in the Balkans. To mislead the enemy, General Zimmermann forced the passage of the river to the north of the Dobrudsha, while a furious cannonade kept the Turks occupied from Rustchuk to Nicopolis. Thanks to their precautions, and the secret being well guarded, the Russians succeeded in passing the river and landing at Zimnitsa on the night of June 26. They now occupied Sistova, and at night their pontoons passed under the cannon of Nicopolis without being observed by the Turks. One Russian corps now covered Rustchuk, and extended along the Yantra; the other deployed toward the Vid, and seized Nicopolis on July 16. Meanwhile, an advanced guard, under the com-

[1] These bashi-bazouks, literally mad-heads, are not, as some people have imagined, a kind of irregular Turkish soldiery, but village and town ruffians who follow the armies for the sake of murder and plunder.

mand of General Gurko, hastened to occupy the important pass of Shipka in the Balkans. Gurko passed through the defile of Hankoi without opposition. He suddenly appeared on the other side of the Balkans, in the valley of the Tundja, and taking in the rear the Turkish positions at Shipka, carried them, after a trifling reverse (July 19), and thus in the space of twenty days the Danube had been crossed, the passage of the Balkans forced, and the route opened to Adrianople and Constantinople. But suddenly these brilliant successes suffered a check. Osman Pasha of Widdin, by forced marches, had come on the Russian right, and had fortified Plevna, a place strong by nature. The Russians made their first attempt to carry these lines, but the assault was repulsed with great loss under the very eyes of the emperor. There were 20,000 Turks in the position, and their fortifications are said to have been planned by a very skillful Italian engineer, for accurate accounts show that Osman was personally inactive. Moreover, the pasha was in direct communication with Sofia and was well furnished with provisions. On July 29 a second attempt was made, but, although the Russians fought with great bravery, they could only carry the first lines and were finally repulsed.

Suleiman Pasha also made his appearance on the Tundja with 35,000 men, with a view of retaking Shipka, and the army under Mohammed Ali at Rustchuk now began to move. The Russians were, therefore, obliged to concentrate themselves, and in order to do so they retired to the north of the Balkans and fortified the Shipka Pass. All their efforts were now directed against Plevna, and they called their allies, the Rumanians, to assist them. The consequences of this movement were terrible to the Bulgarians, especially in the eastern part of what was afterward called Eastern Rumelia, but has now been definitely annexed to Bulgaria.

The bashi-bazouks overran the whole country between the Maritza and the Shipka Pass and reduced it to a wilderness, including the town of Eski-Sagra, now Stara-Zagora. Most of the inhabitants, however, escaped over the mountains into the territory occupied by the Russians. The cities of Kalofer and Sopot were also burned after the flight of the inhabitants.

The fate of Karlovo was even more terrible. This lovely spot, which would seem marked out by nature for rural happiness and peace, was the scene of much bloodshed. The inhabitants, both Christian and Turkish, had in a way admitted the Russians in

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order to avoid having their territory devastated. But on the Russians evacuating the place, the Mussulmans, who had arranged the reception conjointly with their Christian neighbors, betrayed them into the hands of the bashi-bazouks. Of the citizens 864 were put to death. These unfortunate men were dragged to Philippopolis, some dying on the way, tried by court-martials, and hanged in various parts of the town. Their sad fate has been graphically described by their fellow-prisoner, Ivan Geshov, who survived this bath of blood to be one of the first Bulgarian finance ministers. In Sliven peasants were hanging on each side of the streets as the troops of Suleiman entered. The prisons were full, and suspected persons were everywhere executed.

The Turks now began an attack on the Russian position at Shipka, August 21, which lasted five days. They had almost succeeded in opening the route to Tirnova, but Suleiman was unable to withstand the Russian reinforcements, and could not make himself master of their works. Meantime, Mohammed Ali was able partly to keep the Russians in check on the Yantra. The Russians made a third attack on Plevna (September 11), but, although Skobelev succeeded in carrying the Turkish redoubt, in consequence of the inadequate number of his troops this third attack failed. It was calculated that in the three attacks the Russians had lost 30,000 men.

We must now turn to the campaigns in Asia. The army had entered Turkish territory in four columns under the command of Loris Melikov. They first marched upon Batum along the coast of the Black Sea; the other three went to Kars and Erzerum by different routes. The column on the route to Batum was soon obliged to retire before the Turkish attacks; the latter had undisturbed access to the Black Sea, and had disembarked Circassian emigrants to raise the Caucasus. On the left, Bayezid was taken without resistance (April 20); Ardahan was taken after twelve days' fighting; and the blockade of Kars commenced on June 4. The Turkish general, Mukhtir Pasha, retired, and awaited reinforcements. But Melikov was repulsed while trying to force his position at Zevin (June 25), and Mukhtir thereupon raised the blockade of Kars and forced the Russians to retreat, having gained an advantage over them at Kizil-Tepe (August 25).

The Russians in Turkey fought bravely, but were outnumbered. They sent for more troops, and Todleben, who had defended

Sebastopol, was summoned, like another Suvarov, to the front. Todleben completely changed the plan of action. He had 112,000 men at his disposal, and thought that Plevna ought rather to be starved out, as the number of Turkish outworks was so great. His first thought was to cut off Osman Pasha's communications. On October 24, after a battle at Gorni Dubinck, he took 4000 prisoners, and cut off the communication between Plevna, Orkhanie, and Sofia; the Rumanians at the same time established themselves on the line to Riachovo. Osman was now completely surrounded, and Gurko concentrated his forces in the direction of Orkhanie. When he had exhausted his provisions Osman made a sortie, and was obliged to surrender with his 40,000 men. Plevna fell on December 12. Gurko crossed the Balkans on December 25, occupying four days in the passage.

Meanwhile, in Asia Minor, the Turks began to have the same bad fortune. Mukhtir Pasha was beaten by Loris Melikov, and forced by a series of battles into the defiles of Deve-Boyum, which protect Erzerum. Kars was taken, and the investment of Erzerum begun.

With the commencement of the next year the Russians advanced through the Balkans to Rumelia. Although the cold was intense, Gurko on the right turned the position of Arab-Konak and got possession of Sofia. He had, meanwhile, been joined by a Servian detachment, and now marched by way of the valleys of the Tundja and the Maritza to Adrianople. At Shipka 35,000 Turks laid down their arms. On January 15 Gurko took Philippopolis; before surrendering it the Turks cut the throats of all the unfortunate Bulgarians who remained in prison. The place had long been little more than a human shambles. During the years 1877 and 1878, in the provinces of Philippopolis and Adrianople alone, 16,632 Bulgarians had been put to the sword, 623 hanged, 65 burned to death, and 925 churches, schools, and shops, and 40,860 inhabited houses were destroyed and plundered. Of 129 churches in the province of Philippopolis 103 were reduced to ruins. It has been calculated that about 180 Bulgarian captives in Turkish prisons were strangled. Suleiman Pasha, worsted by Gurko at Philippopolis when the Russians took it, was driven into the Rhodope Mountains. On January 20 Adrianople was taken. The Turkish governor had been displaying great cruelty there, and had hanged some miserable Bulgarian refugees; one a doctor, who had at-

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tached himself to the hospital where he worked in attendance on the Turkish sick and wounded. "He was taken thence," Lord Bath tells us, "with the red crescent on his arm, and hanged with his fellow-citizens." The Russians were now at the very gates of Constantinople. On February 14 the Turks made proposals for peace.

Meanwhile, the English fleet had appeared in Turkish waters and passed the Dardanelles on February 1. The foreign policy of the country was at that time directed by Lord Beaconsfield, whose Turcophile proclivities are well known. He had spoken of the sultan as an amiable young man in a trying position who was worthy of sympathy. Meanwhile the Grand Duke Nicholas moved his troops to San Stefano, to the very gates of Constantinople. On March 3, 1878, he signed the Treaty of San Stefano with the Turkish diplomatists, Safvet and Sadullah; the terms of this memorable treaty were the independence of Servia, Montenegro, and Rumania, and addition of territory to the two former. The sultan had in reality never been able to exercise any authority over the Montenegrins, as these fierce mountaineers had repelled all attempts at subjugation. A principality of Bulgaria was to be created tributary but autonomous. Reforms were to be granted to Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and these provinces were to be occupied and put under the administration of Austria. This was the great feature of the treaty in so much as it brought Austria as a factor into the Balkan peninsula. Rumania received the Dobrudsha, and Russia regained the piece of territory at the mouth of the Danube which she had lost by the Treaty of Paris. In Asia she gained Batum, a very important port, Ardahan, Kars, and Bayezid, and an indemnity was to be paid her of 300,000,000 rubles. European Turkey was reduced to a mere strip of territory, and had only three towns of any size left, Salonika, Adrianople, and Constantinople.

England and Austria were both dissatisfied with these arrangements. In England the Turcophile party was then much stronger than at present. The English were never more active than they were at that time in pursuing an inconsistent and somewhat selfish policy of taking the lead in the West in all religious and political progress, and at the same time keeping as far as they could their fellow-Christians in the East under the galling bondage of aliens in race and religion. The selfish anti-Slavonic policy of

Austria was also very pronounced at the time. She has been forced in the hour of peril in recent times to interpret her political position much more sanely. At the instigation of Bismarck a conference was summoned at Berlin. As a result of this Berlin conference the Treaty of San Stefano was considerably modified. Bulgaria was made much smaller in the western portion and was to pay tribute to the Porte. The country south of the Balkans was restored to the Turks, but received a certain autonomy and took the name of Eastern Rumelia, which, however, it was to have but a short time. Lord Beaconsfield is said to have been very anxious that the Turks should have Burgas, which was now practically their only port on the Black Sea. Montenegro, Servia, and Rumania received additions of territory. The first country had the port of Dulcigno allotted to it. Servia received Nish, which is now the second largest city in that country. The Rumanians were obliged to cede to Russia a portion of territory at the mouth of the Danube and received in exchange a barren part of the Dobrudsha, where the climate is remarkably unhealthful and the population consists chiefly of Tatars. Bayezid and the territory of Alashgeid in Asia were to go back to Turkey, but the Russians kept their other conquests and their frontier was considerably advanced.

The account of the administration of Bulgaria by Russian officials belongs to Bulgarian history. By the terms of the Treaty of Berlin (July 13, 1878), Macedonia, which had been rescued by Russian blood, so lavishly shed, was handed back to the Turks on condition that certain reforms should be executed. By the creation of the province of Eastern Rumelia and the restoration of Macedonia to Turkey, a very short-sighted policy was adopted by England. The formation of such a small state would cause it to be powerless. Had England really been anxious to create a strong Bulgaria that could defy Russia, they should have followed the plan of the Treaty of San Stefano. On September 18, 1885, the governor of Eastern Rumelia, an irresolute old man, was escorted in derisive ceremony out of the city of Philippopolis, and the province was permanently united to Bulgaria. In the same way Moldavia and Wallachia were also joined, after they had been kept separate by the Treaty of Paris.

Finally, we must say something of the additions to Greece. She also received a large accession of territory, including Thessaly with its capital Larissa. Although by a foolish war with the Turks she

ran the risk of losing some of her recently acquired territory, the European powers compelled Turkey to evacuate the provinces she had occupied, and in 1898 Crete was declared autonomous.

The latter part of the reign of Alexander II. was disturbed by many plots against his life. On April 16, 1866, Karakozov shot at him at St. Petersburg, as already mentioned, and the attempt might have succeeded had not a peasant pushed the assassin's arm. In the following year a Pole, named Berezowski, attempted the life of the emperor at Paris, while he was on a visit to Napoleon III. In 1878 Mezentsev, the head of the gendarmerie at St. Petersburg, was killed; and in the following year three attempts were made upon the life of the emperor, which were nearly successful. Soloviov aimed a pistol at the tsar, for which he was executed, and attempts were made to blow up part of the Winter Palace and to wreck the train by which the emperor was traveling in the south of Russia. On March 13, 1881, Alexander was killed by a hand grenade on the bank of the Catherine canal at St. Petersburg. Before this tragedy a mine had been excavated under the Malaya Sadovaya, by which street the emperor was to pass. It had been dug with great labor, as all the earth had to be secretly moved away in bags. A shop had been hired from which the mining was begun, and at this shop one of the female conspirators ostensibly sold butter and eggs. On the day of his murder the emperor was proceeding from the Mikhailovski riding-school, when a shot struck the carriage. Getting out to inquire what was the matter the emperor was hit by a hand grenade and desperately wounded; he had only strength to cry out: "Take me to the palace to die there." Zhelnikov, the conspirator who had thrown the bomb, was himself killed by the explosion. Another confederate blew out his brains as soon as he was arrested. The conspirators were found to be six in number and were condemned to death; one, a Jewess, Jessa Helfmann, was sent into banishment. The others: Zhelabovski, Sophia Perovskaya, who by letting fall a handkerchief had given the signal to the assassins, Kibalchich, Risakov, and Mikhailov were sentenced to be hanged. On April 15, 1881, they suffered death on the Semenovski Place near St. Petersburg. Sophia Perovskaya was a woman of undaunted courage and met her fate with a spirit worthy of a better cause.

Thus perished Alexander II., a man of amiable character, if not of great strength of mind, in whose reign Russia certainly

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made considerable constitutional progress. To him she owes the establishment of the zemstvo, but before all other things the emancipation of the serfs. It is well known also that he was about to revive a national sobor or states-general, which had existed in the old times, but had been in abeyance since the days of the Emperor Feodor at the close of the seventeenth century. This would have been a direct step toward constitutional government.

Chapter XVII

THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER III. 1881-1894

OWING to the great strides made by Russia in the reign of the Emperor Alexander III. it seems necessary to say something about the condition of the country. Alexander II. was succeeded by his second son of the same name, the eldest son having died at Nice in 1865. The new sovereign was an amiable and honest man, but he adopted the advice of reactionaries. Nor indeed can we wonder at this policy, if we remember the results of the liberal tendencies of his father. The country was full of plots, and a kind of bodyguard of the emperor's person was formed by volunteers from the Russian aristocracy. The young emperor found reactionary advisers in Count Dmitri Tolstoi, Pobiedonostsev, and Katkov. The Nihilists were still active; an attempt was made in 1881 to kill Cherevin, who was the coadjutor of the minister of the interior. Strelnikov, procuror-general, was killed at Kiev in 1882, and Sudeikin, a high police official, the same year. In October, 1888, occurred the mysterious railway accident at Borki, on the Kursk-Kharkov line, in which several persons were killed and the imperial family nearly lost their lives. Some see in this occurrence simply an accident, but others look upon it as an attempt of Nihilists.

In pursuance of a reactionary policy, the number of the police was increased, and in the large towns the owners of houses were responsible for the behavior of their tenants; they were forced to exercise such a surveillance that no suspected persons could enter the houses, no contraband books were to be introduced, nor explosive materials. The dvornik or porter must keep watch over that part of the street which is immediately in front of the house where he is employed. During this reign also the Jewish question became a burning one. It is calculated that there are five millions of Jews in Russia, and they are only allowed to inhabit certain governments. They have emigrated in great numbers to the United States, Brazil, the Argentine Republic, and other countries. In the year 1891 alone more than 10,000 left Russia.

Poland, completely weakened by the failure of the insurrection of 1863, remained tranquil. Poles were, however, forbidden to purchase land in Lithuania, and a ukase was issued preventing foreigners from purchasing immovable property in Poland. The object of this is said to have been to keep Germans from settling in the country. One of the most extraordinary developments of modern times is the commercial growth of the town of Lodz, which is situated in the government of Piotrkow, and numbers 351,570 inhabitants, being one of the largest cities of the empire.

Great efforts were made, and have been continued to the present time, to Russianize the Baltic provinces. According to the most trustworthy accounts, the prevailing population is Esthonian, Curonian, or Lettish, the Germans (landlords or tradesmen and artisans in towns) being only 3.5, 6.8, and 7.6 per cent. respectively of the population. Prince Kropotkin says that in the three provinces, Courland, Esthonia, and Livonia, Riga included, they hardly amount to 120,000 out of 1,800,000 inhabitants. The Russians have introduced their language as the organ of education, and the University of Dorpat has been Russified.

Although the natural bias of the Emperor Alexander III. was toward autocracy, he was not sympathetic in all points with the policy of Bismarck. He discovered that the courts of Vienna and Berlin had concluded another treaty to which he was not a party. He was also displeased at the efforts made by Austria to push her influence in the Balkan peninsula, in which she was assisted by Bismarck.

It has been said that Russia had made a secret stipulation with Austria that she should take Bosnia and Herzegovina. It seems that by so doing she would be adopting a suicidal policy, and would weaken her hegemony of the Balkan states, to attain which she had already shed so much blood and lavished so much treasure. In Bulgaria she had at one time lost influence. Alexander of Battenberg had been forced to resign, and had not succeeded in making himself a *persona grata* to the tsar. His government of the principality, at first so vigorous and promising, had become feeble. Subsequent revelations have enabled us to understand this change. He was already suffering from the exhausting disease which was soon to carry him off. His successor, Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, was elected in opposition to the tsar, but eventually made peace with him. The whole object of Stambulov in the marriage

he arranged between Prince Ferdinand and a lady of the house of Hapsburg was distinctly anti-Russian. The Russian minister was for a time withdrawn from Sofia in consequence of this hostility.

The only firm ally of Russia in the peninsula was Prince Nicholas of Montenegro, who paid several visits to Alexander and was welcomed by him in very flattering terms. Two of his daughters married princes of the Russian imperial family, a third married a member of the family of Karageorgevitch, the rival candidate to the Servian throne with Obrenovitches. Another daughter has married the King of Italy.

Rumania, which had fought on the side of Russia in the Bulgarian campaign and whose troops had greatly distinguished themselves at the siege of Plevna, was more and more drawn toward Austria by economic reasons. In March, 1881, Charles of Hohenzollern had caused himself to be crowned at Bucharest. Milan of Servia also was crowned king of that country in the following year. He too showed Austrian leanings. In 1883 Alexander of Battenberg had got rid of the Russian minister and found himself constrained to adopt a more national policy. In 1885 Eastern Rumelia, as it was called, was annexed without bloodshed to Bulgaria. Upon this taking place the incapable Milan of Servia pretended that the aggrandizement of Bulgaria destroyed the equilibrium of the Balkan states. He accordingly invaded the Bulgarian territories with a large army. Alexander of Bulgaria, although he was inferior in numbers, encountered him at Slivnitsa on November 19. 1885, and completely defeated him. The Bulgarians now invaded Servia and won another victory at Pirot.

In spite, however, of his great services Alexander of Battenberg was seized in bed on the night of August 21, 1886, by conspirators of the Russian party, and made to sign an act of abdication. He was then conducted across the Danube into Bessarabia and from there to Lemberg in Austrian Poland. But Bulgaria protested against this outrage and the concocters of the plot. Battenberg was invited to return. The attempts of the Bulgarian prince to mitigate the wrath of Alexander III. were fruitless. The latter plainly told him that he did not approve of his return, and at the same time would not make any statement as to his future intentions. He simply said that he should act in conformity with the interests of Russia. The prince saw that all opposition was useless; he nominated a regency, one of the members of which was

Stambulov, addressed a proclamation to the people, and retired from the country September 7, 1886. After an interregnum of nearly a year Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg was elected, a grandson of Louis Philippe, but he was not recognized by any of the powers; and the post of Russian minister at Sofia remained vacant.

Russia in this way found herself completely deserted by the Balkan states, which had been encouraged by Austria and Germany. It thus resulted that she looked to an alliance with France. In the year 1887 occurred the death of the eminent publicist Katkov, who had been allowed in his journal to preach almost a crusade against Germany. The Emperor of Russia had on two, if not more, occasions prevented the outbreak of another war between Germany and France. His sympathy with the latter country now became open. In the month of July, 1891, the French fleet under the command of Admiral Gervais visited Kronstadt. On August 4 fifty-five officers and twelve sailors accompanied Admiral Gervais to Moscow and were very cordially received. Two years afterward a Russian squadron, commanded by Admiral Avellane, returned to France the visit of Gervais. The Russian fleet came to Toulon and was received with a series of magnificent fêtes. Avellane and his officers also paid a visit to Paris.

Toward the end of the year 1894 Europe suddenly learned that the Emperor Alexander was very ill. He suffered, among other maladies, from disease of the heart, and his ailments were probably aggravated by the life of continual agitation which he had been compelled to lead; grave political complications and Nihilist plots were on all sides. The unhappy emperor was frequently heard to exclaim that he envied the Russian muzhik (peasant), who could live in peace with his wife and children. Alexander was a man with a genuine detestation of war. He could never forget the horrors he had witnessed during the campaign in Bulgaria, in which he accompanied his father. He did all he could to make his children detest war. He used to dwell upon the frightful sufferings which he had witnessed, and used to say, "May God keep you from ever seeing war, or from ever drawing a sword." Perhaps it is in consequence of these teachings that his son Nicholas II. inaugurated the Council of Peace at The Hague. Alexander died at Livadia in the Crimea, whither he had gone for the benefit of his health, on October 22, 1894, and was succeeded by his son Nicholas.

Chapter XVIII

THE REIGN OF NICHOLAS II. 1894-1917

ALEXANDER was succeeded by his son under the title of Nicholas II. Nicholas was born at St. Petersburg on May 18, 1868. Under the care of General Danielovitch, Pobiedonostsev, and others he received the education usually given to members of the royal family. In 1881, on the death of his grandfather, Alexander II., he became heir-apparent, with the customary title of tsarevitch. A quiet and retiring disposition led him to look with little favor on his military training. By temperament he was inclined to peace.

In 1890-1891, three years before his accession, he made an extensive tour of the East, visiting Greece, Egypt, India, Ceylon, and Japan. In the latter country he narrowly escaped assassination at the hands of a Japanese fanatic. The return journey lay through Siberia, where at Vladivostok the tsarevitch turned the first sod for the Trans-Siberian railroad. He was later a member of the imperial committee which carried through this great enterprise.

The early days of the new reign were marked by many liberal moves, and it was confidently hoped by many of the liberals, the later social and constitutional democrats, that the attitude of the tsar augured not only a change in the spirit of administration, but also a probable change in the constitution. The censorship of the press was relaxed, and the practice of guarding railroad lines when an imperial train passed was given up. It was on the occasion of the tsar's marriage to the Princess Alice of Hesse that for the first time in Russian history the route of the wedding procession remained unguarded by troops. This appeal for popular confidence had a good effect, for the tsar immediately became popular.

The Poles shared in the era of good feeling. At the petition of the Polish delegation sent to the imperial wedding, the tsar removed General Gurko, who for twelve years had governed the provinces with much brutality, and in his place appointed Count Shuvalov. The mother of Count Shuvalov was a Pole, and it was

hoped that the new governor would rule less harshly than his predecessor. But while personally more gracious than Gurko, Count Shuvalov, in his administration, showed himself equally jealous in suppressing the Polish language and in crushing other signs of national opposition.

Questions of foreign policy attracted attention early in the year 1895. The Pamir difficulty was settled, the joint boundary commission agreeing upon a definite frontier between Russia, China, and Afghanistan. While the negotiations involved in this dispute were progressing, De Giers, minister of foreign affairs, died on January 27. In his place the tsar appointed Prince Lobanov, the Russian ambassador at Berlin. As for Russia's interests in the Balkan peninsula, the new minister issued a circular letter stating that the tsar's government favored the independent development of the Christian states; but almost simultaneously a less passive attitude was voiced in the *News* of St. Petersburg, which declared: "Panslavism is a specter which frightens nobody. Russia threatens no one, but she has historical traditions and will always watch over the weal of the Balkan Slavs, quite independently of her general policy." With France, Russia's relations continued to be very cordial. Suspicion of an offensive alliance between the two countries was set at rest by the declaration of the *Figaro* (July 3) that the compact had been made on the basis of the existing territorial *status quo*. Relations with Germany appeared somewhat strained owing to Germany's discontent with the international situation in the Far East. Although Germany had joined Russia and France in keeping Japan out of the Liao-tung peninsula, she was given no share in the arrangements for the Chinese loan. As a security, Russia and France were given prior claims on the Chinese maritime duties, and Germany obtained no recognition.

At home the tsar soon began to explain his position in a manner which disappointed the liberals. In reply to a delegation of the zemstvos which came to congratulate him upon his marriage he delivered an answer couched in reactionary language. "I rejoice to see," he said, "gathered here representatives of all estates of the realm who have come to give expression to their sentiments of loyal allegiance. I believe in the sincerity of these feelings, which have been those of every Russian from time immemorial. But it has come to my knowledge that in certain meetings of zemstvos, voices have lately made themselves heard from people who have allowed

themselves to be carried away by foolish fancies about the participation of the zemstvos in the general administration of the internal affairs of the state. Let all know that I devote all my strength to the good of my people, but I shall uphold the principle of autocracy as firmly and as unflinchingly as did my ever-lamented father." Following this, government control over commercial, industrial, and social movements by means of new rules and regulations was considerably tightened. Before the year was out, the new penal code, on which experts had been at work since 1881, was completed.

The imperial coronation took place on May 26, 1896. The ceremonial with the accompanying festivities attracted a world-wide interest. Representatives of all the reigning houses of Europe were present, as well as the chief dignitaries of the Russian empire and several of the Asiatic potentates who acknowledged the tsar's suzerainty. The festivities were marred by a terrible disaster on the Khodinski Plain, whither the people of Moscow and the surrounding region had gathered to receive presents of food and drink in the name of the tsar. The police were inadequate to manage the large crowd, numbering nearly 400,000 persons, and in the crush and struggle some 3000 persons were suffocated or trampled to death. Much criticism was expressed at the time that in consequence of this tragedy the remaining festivities were not suspended. On the very day of the coronation the tsar issued a proclamation remitting all arrears of taxation in European Russia and Poland; remitting or reducing all fines; lowering the land tax one-half for the period of ten years; canceling sentences for crimes, except robbery and embezzlement; directing that all exiles to Siberia or Sakhalin should, after serving ten or twelve years of their sentence, have the privilege of selecting their place of residence, and remitting one-third of the sentences of criminals imprisoned in Siberia. Further remissions were granted to political offenders and their civil rights were restored.

From Moscow the tsar proceeded to Nijni-Novgorod, where, on June 9, he conducted the formal opening of an exposition of all the Russias. The exposition had been originally the plan of the former tsar, and the work of organization had been intrusted to Serge Witte, the minister of finance.

In August the tsar and his court left for Vienna with the intention of visiting all the European courts. The death of Prince

Dobanov occurred early in the journey. The tsar found a successor in Shishkin, and ordered that the tour should continue. In September, accompanied by the new minister, he left for Breslau to meet the German emperor. The latter gave him a most effusive reception, but it was noticed that the tsar kept a dignified and rather cold reserve throughout the occasion. From Germany the route lay through England and France. There seems to be little doubt but that the tour increased the prestige of Russia.

In May, 1896, a treaty had been made with the Chinese Government, permitting the construction of a railroad through Manchuria, and leasing to Russia at the same time the port of Kiao-Chow. The Liao-tung ports, Talien-wan and Port Arthur, were practically placed at Russia's disposal so that she now held a powerful position in the Far East. At a considerable expenditure the Black Sea, Pacific, and Baltic fleets were strengthened and arrangements made for a fourth fleet to be stationed in the Arctic Ocean.

In Poland, the administration of Count Shuvalov seemed to bring about an era of good feeling, more especially as the younger generation of Poles appeared willing to accept the Russian connection in return for the same rights as the other European subjects of the tsar.

The year 1897 proved successful financially and politically. The budgets showed a large surplus. The currency was strengthened by forcing more gold into circulation, and by guaranteeing paper money by a gold deposit. It was observed from statistics that landed property was rapidly passing from the hands of the nobility into possession of merchants and wealthy peasants, men who a generation previous had been serfs. More accurate statistics were henceforth to be available from the work of the census commission appointed early in the year.

Liberal alterations were made in some of the provisions for internal administration. Jews who had passed the university course were to have freedom of residence irrespective of actual occupation. Children of mixed marriages were no longer obliged to be brought up in the orthodox faith. A legal eight-hour day was established for young people between twelve and fifteen years of age. As for Poland, the special tax imposed upon Polish landowners was abolished, and a scheme was drawn up to give Poland zemstvos and to allow the Poles to restore Roman Catholic churches.

These concessions doubtless contributed to the cordial feeling which marked the tsar's reception in Warsaw in September.

Foreign policy fell into the hands of Count Muraviev, who was appointed minister of foreign affairs in January. His conciliatory temper kept the relations with foreign courts on a most friendly basis. The tsar received friendly visits from the German Emperor, the Emperor of Austria, and the President of France. All three promised to further the object of the tsar in bringing about a general and lasting peace. Despite the international situation in the Far East, relations with Germany were cordial, and a good understanding existed with Austria in regard to eastern Europe. The question of Central Asia likewise furnished no cause for alarm. General Kuropatkin expressed himself on the matter to this effect: "The policy of our government in Central Asia since the accession of the late tsar has been eminently one of peace; and recourse has never been had to arms until every other means of obtaining a given object has failed; I am led to be explicit on these points by a sincere wish that the public may be convinced that we have a settled Asiatic policy which is in no way inimical to Great Britain; and that we are perfectly satisfied with our present boundaries."

By a treaty concluded in 1896 between Japan and Russia, the interests of each country in Korea were more or less loosely formulated. Russia, however, seemed to gain a point over her rival, when by an agreement made in October of the same year, with the Korean Government, Alexiev was appointed adviser to the department of finance and superintendent of the Korean customs. The various departments of government were to conduct their financial affairs in accordance with the directions of the financial adviser, and in general to coöperate with him.

The year 1898 found the empire, on the whole, much more disturbed. The budget, indeed, showed a marked increase in the revenue, due perhaps to the fact that the government had now an almost complete monopoly in the distillation of spirits. From the surplus an additional 90,000,000 rubles was added to the naval appropriation for the construction of new warships. This seemed a curious prelude to the action of the tsar, when, later in the year, he advocated a general decrease of armaments on the part of the European states.

The dissatisfaction of the Poles under the rule of a new governor, Prince Meritinski, seemed to threaten almost open insurrec-

tion. In case of international complications, a danger from this quarter would have been very serious indeed. To meet the revolutionary spirit in Poland the ministry suggested the endowment of more orthodox churches, a stricter control over the schools, and the establishment of free libraries to check the influence of revolutionary literature. Although approved by the tsar, these recommendations were not carried into effect; their only result was a somewhat more reactionary spirit in the administration of Poland. The Poles as well as the Russian liberals were indignant at the ceremony which took place at Vilna, on the occasion of the unveiling of a monument to General Muraviev. Both in Russia and in Poland, the cruelty of this man—he was familiarly known as the "Hangman of Lithuania"—had passed into a proverb. Even Russian officials seemed to contribute reluctantly to the honor of a man whose only idea of government in Lithuania had been to stamp out ruthlessly the Polish race.

An outbreak in Central Asia, after General Kuropatkin had left to take charge of the war department, was easily quelled.

In the Far East, Russian diplomacy showed itself more and more enterprising. As a compensation for the Anglo-German loan which China had arranged for this year, Russia was given the right to extend her railroad as far as Port Arthur and Talien-wan. The occupation of Wei-hai-wei by England was indirectly advantageous to Russia since it lessened the tension of rivalry between the latter country and Germany. It also improved the feeling between Russia and England, that is as far as the Orient was concerned, for the relations between the two had been somewhat strained since Russia's intervention at the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Russia proceeded to enter into an agreement with Japan concerning Korea, by which both governments "pledged themselves mutually to abstain from all direct interference in the internal affairs of the country." They "recognized definitely the sovereignty and entire independence of Korea." In the Near East, Russia incurred the displeasure of the Porte by her rather ostentatious support of the candidature of Prince George of Greece for governor of Crete. Yet notwithstanding this, and the rivalry with Germany in China, relations with foreign powers remained throughout the year on a friendly footing.

At the end of August Europe was startled to learn that the tsar was making a general proposal to the powers with a view to a

reduction of their armaments. The proposal was contained in a dispatch of August 24, sent by Count Muraviev to the representatives of Russia at the different European courts. "It is the supreme duty," so ran the dispatch, "at the present time of all states to put some limit to these unnecessary armaments and to find means of averting the calamities which threaten the whole world. Impressed by this feeling, his majesty, the emperor, has been pleased to command me to propose to all governments accredited to the imperial court, the meeting of a conference to discuss this grave problem. Such a conference, with God's help, would be a happy augury for the opening century. It would powerfully concentrate the efforts of all states which sincerely wish to see the triumph of the grand idea of universal peace over the elements of trouble and discord. It would, at the same time, bind their agreement by the principles of law and equity which support the security of states and welfare of peoples."

The proposal was generally regarded as impracticable, yet all the powers agreed to be represented at the conference. The conference was called for the following year. It assembled at The Hague on May 18, 1899, delegates from all the powers being present. The Russian ambassador in London, De Staal, presided. The delegates agreed to consider military and naval armaments as one question; they also agreed to group their deliberations under the three heads of disarmament, humanitarian measures, and arbitration. As for the first point, the general opinion of the conference seemed to regard disarmament as impracticable. No one could draw a satisfactory line between an armament for offensive purposes and a force for national defense, and since the question of national defense was outside the province of international convention, there was little opportunity for agreement. The discussion of humanitarian measures revealed much difference of opinion, but the decision of the conference resulted only in condemning the use of bullets that "expand in the human body," the throwing of projectiles or explosives "from balloons or by other analogous means for a period of five years," and the making use of projectiles "whose sole object is to diffuse asphyxiating or deleterious gases."

On the question of arbitration, the most important proposal was one made by the English delegate, Sir Julian Pauncefote, for the establishment of a permanent committee of arbitration. The proposal, subject to restriction, was ultimately accepted. It was

the most practical outcome of the work of the conference. The last session of the conference was held on July 29, and its decisions were then embodied in a series of conventions, the best known of which is the one entitled: "A Convention for the Peaceful Regulation of International Conflicts."

An important move was made in 1899 by Witte, the minister of finance, looking toward the use of foreign capital in Russian industries. France, it was found, had invested money in Russian bonds and would go no further, while the prohibitive duties on Russian imports kept Russian goods out of the French market. Witte accordingly returned to England, realizing, of course, that the only possible chance of establishing better financial relations with that country lay entirely in the condition of public opinion. "The great English market will be open to our products, if we can dissipate the want of confidence, which, according to our commercial agents, exists among Englishmen as to the stability of the regulations in Russia defining the position of foreign manufacturers and merchants." The restrictions hitherto imposed upon the acquisition of land by foreigners for industrial purposes were removed, resulting almost immediately in the general commencement of industrial undertakings, which in the last quarter of the year created a so-called "money famine" in St. Petersburg and Moscow.

The sudden death of the heir-presumptive in July threw the court into more or less consternation, as the tsar was still without a male heir. His second brother, the Grand Duke Michael, a prince of strong will and reactionary tendencies, was the next heir to the throne.

The year 1899 and the one following were marked by a series of strikes. The object of the workingmen was a reduction in the hours of labor, despite the fact that the number of hours had very recently been reduced. In many cases the workingmen resorted to violence and riot. It was generally supposed that the labor question was quite subordinate to the political one, and that the strikes were really the weapon of the revolutionists to bring pressure upon the government. The success of many of the strikes confirmed the confidence of the masses in the virtue of this new weapon, and they further convinced the laborers of the political possibilities in combination and collective action generally. The government took effective steps to quell all disturbance. Students in the universities took the side of disorder, and the universities were temporarily

closed. Instruction was interrupted for only a short time, however. The tsar pardoned all the students concerned, except the more violent of the leaders, censured the police for their harsh measures, and reproved the teaching staffs of the universities for not having shown sufficient authority and moral influence in preventing disorder. A scarcity of food in certain districts added to the general disturbance. Thousands perished from starvation and fever, and the government was taxed to the uttermost to render the assistance called for. The famine district stretched from the Urals to Moscow on the west, and embraced more than ten degress of latitude, north and south.

Finland gave cause for serious concern. It seemed to be the evident determination of the government to effect a complete Russification of the province, notwithstanding the fact that the Finns had enjoyed a special autonomy ever since their incorporation within the empire. A bill was laid before the Finnish diet proposing to introduce into the province the same obligation of military service from which no other Russian subjects were exempt. The diet was told that it could not discuss the principle of the bill, but merely its details. This was a violation of the constitution, and the Finlanders feared for their other constitutional gaurantees. Their protest was met by a manifesto informing the Finns that although they were "by gracious consent" permitted to enjoy certain "special institutions," yet the tsar was autocrat over the whole empire, including Finland, and had the sole right to decide on all matters of "general interest and importance to the empire." As all deputations and petitions were in vain, many of the inhabitants of Finland emigrated to the United States, Australia, and England to escape the dreaded military service.

Meanwhile in the Far East, Talien-wan and Port Arthur were growing into prosperous commercial centers. Manchuria had become for all practical purposes a Russian province; all the important cities were garrisoned by Russian troops, and special attention was paid to the making of good roads and bridges. Russia and England agreed not to encroach upon each other in their respective railroad interests in China. In October Russia agreed that the long-standing dispute between herself and the United States over the seizure of three American sealers in the Bering Sea should be submitted to arbitration.

In 1900 the policy of Russification continued to be applied to

Poland and Finland, though in the former country Prince Meritinski, who unfortunately died at the end of the year, had done much to relax the severity of Russian rule. In June appeared an imperial ukase decreeing the gradual introduction of the Russian language into the administration of Finland, beginning with the chancery of the secretary of state and the Finnish senate. Five years was given all officials in which to adopt Russian exclusively in their official communications. The protests of the Finns were of no avail.

The question of Central Asia came to the front in February when reports were current of the movement of Russian troops, a siege train, and quantities of rails in the direction of Afghanistan. It appeared later that they were destined for Persia. Russia had become, through the Loan Bank of Persia, the principal creditor of the shah's government, and had practically secured a mortage over the Persian customs. Although Russia abstained carefully from interfering in the southern half of Persia, for British interests were there recognized as paramount, the northern half easily fell under Russian exploitation. Persia granted concessions for the construction of railroad lines which for Russia were important both economically and strategically.

The death of Count Muraviev, who had been minister of foreign affairs since 1897, led to the appointment of Count Lamsdorf. The new minister was confronted with the situation in China arising from the Boxer outbreak. In the meanwhile Russia had secured an important advantage in Korea. On March 30 Korea granted to Russia a site for a coal depot and a naval hospital for the exclusive use of the Pacific squadron at Masampo harbor, Russia agreeing at the same time not to acquire any of the surrounding land as long as other powers were excluded from doing so. Russia thus obtained an exclusive settlement for her naval stores, the best harbor in Korea abreast of Japan, and the exclusion, apparently, of Japan from obtaining similar advantages. At the same time the government, as though in anticipation of forthcoming troubles in China, made every effort to push on the Manchurian railroad and to fortify Port Arthur. It was during the construction of the railroad that the Russian laborers were suddenly attacked by Chinese troops, and in spite of the Cossack guards forced to abandon a large section of track. With the arrival of reinforcements the Chinese troops were put down with little effort.

During the months of July and August the Russians pushed

vigorously the campaign in Manchuria, and joined the allied powers in the capture of the Taku forts, the operations at Tien-tsin, and the expedition for the relief of the Peking legations. In Manchuria the Russian troops successfully coped with the Boxer outbreak, but the guerrilla warfare and the brigandage which followed necessitated the concentration of large bodies of soldiers along the line of the railroad. Russia continued to declare, however, that the occupation of the port of Newchwang and of the province of Manchuria was merely temporary.

The year 1901 saw a repetition of the student disorders which had marked the two previous years. In Moscow and St. Petersburg the population joined with the students in public demonstrations. The students protested against the excommunication of Count Tolstoi, and asked that they themselves might be excommunicated. Pacific measures quieted the disturbances temporarily, but they were followed by wholesale arrests, domiciliary visits, and the seizure of private papers. Count Tolstoi addressed two letters to the tsar. The first was an eloquent protest against the government's religious persecution. In the second Tolstoi declared that the existing discontent was due to the prevailing social and political order of things, dissatisfaction with which had spread even to the working classes. He recommended a programme of reform. This was circulated secretly in the spring, and exercised a very considerable influence.

In November Witte was able to announce to the tsar the completion of the Siberian railroad. It was to be open for "temporary traffic" as far as Port Arthur. It was expected that at least two years more would be required to replace the wooden bridges and loosely laid track in Manchuria with stone piers and a well-ballasted roadbed. The entire line had so far cost immense sums of money, much of which had disappeared through corruption, and there were many at the time who doubted whether the political and economic advantage would in any way compensate for the outlay. A draft treaty, establishing virtually a Russian protectorate over Manchuria, Chinese Turkestan, and Mongolia, was presented to certain Chinese officials for consideration. The protests of the other powers were sufficient to cause the proposal to be withdrawn. At the same time the Russian interference in the affairs of Manchuria appeared in strange keeping with previous agreements of evacuation. A dispute with England over the North China railroad, running from Peking

to Newchwang, was settled by giving England the administration of the section within the Great Wall, that is, the line from Peking to Shan-hai-kwan.

With Persia, trade seemed to increase. The railroads and a new line of steamers added to the facilities for traffic. Russia appeared to be taking the country away from English influence.

Russian influence in the Balkan peninsula appeared equally active. In Bucharest, the *Orthodox Orient* openly advocated the foundation of a confederation of all the Balkan peoples of the orthodox faith under the protectorate of Russia. Other signs were not wanting which showed that the question of the union of the Balkan states might very soon become one of practical politics. The need of a Russian protectorate, however, was not quite so obvious.

The visit of Delcassé, the French minister of foreign affairs, and his reception in St. Petersburg in April, together with the tsar's reception in France at the end of September, showed the cordiality which still marked the Franco-Russian alliance.

The year 1902, in Russia, saw an alarming spread of the revolutionary movement. It was becoming clear that the whole social, political, and economic fabric of the empire was being undermined. The troops showed a growing tendency to side with the agitators. University students and the professional classes expressed open sympathy; the agricultural classes were being drawn along with the rest. The government found it necessary to forbid gatherers of statistics, other than officials, from prosecuting their work among the villagers. Although the gathering of statistics may have been harmless in itself, it was nevertheless open to the suspicion of being a means to spread revolutionary propaganda among the peasants. Disaffection even showed itself in the ranks of the clergy.

Economic causes were responsible for much of the discord. Riots became common, and Spiaguine, minister of the interior, fell at the hands of an assassin. The zemstvos agitated for an increase of powers, and advocated reforms in education and in the judiciary. The tsar addressed himself to the task of allaying the discontent. To the peasants his utterances had a note of sternness, but also parental care. All interests involved in the agricultural districts were assured that the tsar was considering how best to satisfy their real needs. The zemstvos, however, were warned against any attempt to widen their administrative powers.

In the Far East the question of Manchuria was still a subject for diplomacy. The draft treaty of the previous year having been withdrawn, a convention with the Chinese Government was signed in its place. China was to reëstablish her authority in Manchuria, and to resume the entire administration. Russian subjects were to be protected and to have full privileges of settlement. Russia was gradually to withdraw her troops, their place to be taken by Chinese soldiers. But she retained a right to guard the railroad, and this provision virtually negatived the intent of the convention. The railroad commanded every city and place of importance, so that evacuation, so-called, resolved itself into the concentration of the army of occupation along the line. A bureau of commerce was placed at Harbin with the object of displacing English and German trade in favor of Russian. To all intents and purposes Manchuria still remained a Russian province.

Relations with European powers were marked by the coming of several distinguished visitors to St. Petersburg. The reception of the German Emperor seemed a little less cordial than the others. Germans had been making too evident efforts to divert from Russia part of the Persian trade. Conflicting interests in Asia Minor increased the coolness between the two powers. But the tsar expressed great satisfaction at the visits of the President of France and of the King of Italy. With Bulgaria and Servia agreements were made with a view to developing Russian commerce in the Balkan peninsula. With the other Balkan states relations were thoroughly friendly.

Early in 1903 the tsar seemed to be inclining to liberal measures to allay the prevalent discontent. On March 12 an imperial manifesto was issued which lightened many of the burdens imposed on the peasantry. Religious toleration was to be strengthened, communities were no longer to be corporately responsible for the taxes due from individuals, peasants were relieved from the burdens of forced labor, and change of domicile was to be made easier. At the same time the control of administrative officials over the local representative bodies became more stringent. Independent discussion and the right of petition were considerably restricted. The people at large, and the liberal press in general, received these measures with pronounced satisfaction.

Nevertheless, the agitation for political reform continued. Disaffection on the part of the peasantry led to acts of open violence.

The simultaneous outbreak of strike riots in all the large manufacturing towns showed that apart from the economic cause of discontent, the workmen were conducting an organized revolutionary movement all over the empire. The social democratic party, working in secret, seemed to be established more firmly than ever. The demands of the party, as far as politics went, were the abolition of autocracy and the institution of a democratic republic in its place. Among the most active agents of the revolutionary propaganda were Jews, and the government was not above the suspicion of exploiting the religious prejudice of the lower classes against such opponents. On April 20 occurred a most brutal massacre of Jews at Kishinev, under circumstances so revolting as to arouse the indignation of the whole world. The massacre was apparently the work of ignorant anti-Semites who, having absolutely no connection whatever with any government agents, were nevertheless not restrained by the troops in the vicinity. The trial of the participants in the massacre was conducted in obedience to instructions from the government, and only a few were sentenced. Kishinev was followed by other anti-Semite riots, but in most cases the police intervened effectively, and the disturbances gradually quieted down. In general, however, there were ominous signs of the approach of a great crisis.

The policy of the government toward Finland more or less forced that province to join the ranks of the revolutionists and reformers. Emigration from Finland continued to increase. But in Poland the government appeared more lenient than heretofore. In Armenia, a decree ordering the transfer of the property of the Armenian church to the state caused profound irritation among the Russian Armenians. Among incidents of domestic concern might be noted the promotion of Witte from the ministry of finance to the presidency of the committee of ministers; also the expulsion of the *Times* correspondent from St. Petersburg on the ground that his correspondence was systematically hostile to Russia.

In the Far East, the policy in Manchuria caused more or less friction with the United States and England, and strained seriously the relations with Japan. Seven demands were presented at Peking in April as the conditions for carrying out the evacuation of Manchuria agreed upon the previous year. These demands violated the principle of the "Open Door," which Russia had declared she would regard in Manchuria. Other measures showed

an aggressiveness which occasioned much alarm for the peace of the Orient. Coast fortifications were hurried on, and additional troops forwarded to the stations of the Manchuria railroad. In Korea an attempt was made to establish a settlement at the harbor of Yongam-po, and a telegraph line was laid in Korean territory. The Amur province, together with the Kwantung district, was erected into a special vice-royalty and Vice-admiral Alexiev was appointed the first Russian "Viceroy of the Far East," with supreme civil and military authority. The situation was becoming very critical indeed.

Japan considered her interests threatened, and assuming that the ultimate aim of Russian policy was really hostile to her own claims, endeavored to effect an understanding with the Russian Government. Mistaking perhaps the seriousness of the Japanese intentions, and underrating the effectiveness of the Japanese army and navy and the patriotic fervor of all classes in Japan, feeling perhaps, also, the affront of receiving categorical demands from a power she considered so much her inferior, Russia showed no disposition to come to any agreement. Japan insisted that Russia should fulfill the terms of the convention calling for the evacuation of Manchuria, and that she should abandon all further aggressive movement in Korea. The answers of the Russian Government were evasive, and at the end of the year the decision as to peace or war was hanging in the balance.

Meanwhile in the Balkan peninsula, Russia, in conjunction with Austria, was engaged in an effort to pacify Macedonia. As early as February a scheme of reform, which included the appointment of an inspector-general to prevent abuses by officials, was pressed upon the sultan and by him accepted. At the same time the Balkan states were warned that they could expect no aid whatever in any attempt by means of revolutionary methods to alter the situation in the peninsula. In the autumn the tsar visited the Emperor of Austria, the President of the French Republic, and the German Emperor. In the case of the Austrian visit, the tsar took occasion to concert plans for the further reform of Macedonia. A projected visit to the King of Italy had to be postponed through fear of an anti-Russian demonstration on the part of the socialists.

The year 1904 saw the outbreak of the war with Japan, and the hastening of the political crisis. The zemstvos had no thought of discontinuing their agitation for an extension of their powers in

the direction of a national representation. The war with Japan intensified the prevailing discontent. The war failed to gain popular approval, and according to the popular view had its origin in a policy "conceived solely in the interest of a small number of the privileged minority to the detriment of the vast majority of the Russian people." Very few Russians, outside those of the official class, attempted to justify Russia's position in the struggle, while revolutionists and reformers were not sorry to see the government embarrassed by the defeats sustained as the campaign progressed. To gather information of the revolutionary movement, the letters of privates in the army, especially of Jews, were intercepted to see if they contained treasonable matter. It certainly added to the discontent that the repression of liberal opinion was intrusted to the late Von Plehve, minister of the interior, a man whose career and methods have been universally reprobated. More relief than horror was felt when the news came on July 28 that he had been assassinated. The birth of the tsarevitch on August 12 served to lessen the general gloom from the war. It was hoped that the tsar might embrace the opportunity to begin a more liberal régime. The appointment of Prince Sviatopolk-Mirski to succeed Von Plehve seemed a step in this direction. Prince Sviatopolk-Mirski had acquired popularity from his liberal rule as governor at Vilna. His first acts were favorable to the general movement carried on by the zemstvos. Although strongly opposed by the autocratic clique of Pobiedonostsev and the grand dukes, he summoned a convention of zemstvo delegates to discuss reform. The tsar so far yielded as to issue an imperial ukase involving among other things a reform in judicial precedure, and a system of state insurance for workmen. The movement for representative government, however, still continued. On June 17 the Governor of Finland, like Von Plehve, fell a victim at the hands of a revolutionary assassin. Secret rifle clubs were formed with the avowed purpose of instigating an armed uprising, but the outbreak was not to come during the current year.

Meanwhile the interest of the world was centered on the events in the Far East. In anticipation of a conflict troops had been hurried to Manchuria, and the Pacific squadron strengthened. Nevertheless the outbreak of the war on February 8 came as a surprise to the Russian Government. On January 13 the Japanese Government made a last appeal for a settlement. Having received no reply to this note within the expected time, the Japanese minister

withdrew from St. Petersburg. Without delay, and without any declaration of war, Japan resorted to arms. A fleet appeared off the harbor of Chemulpo, in which the Russian ships *Korietz* and *Variag* lay at anchor. On February 9 the two vessels were sunk. On February 8 Admiral Togo's fleet proceeded to Port Arthur, and, still without declaration of war, surprised and disabled many of the Russian ironclads. Japan had profited by the obvious opportunity of taking her opponents unprepared. While the Japanese were trying to block the harbor at Port Arthur, the Russian Pacific squadron was losing its ships one by one. The admiral's flagship, the *Peteropavlovsk*, with Admiral Makarov on board, fell foul of a mine and was blown up. Among the dead was the artist Vereshchagin, who had gone to the front expecting to put some of the war scenes on canvas. With the line of communication safe, Japanese troops were poured into Korea and marched from Chemulpo to the bank of the Yalu. By the end of April the left bank of the river was occupied, but no further advance had been possible on account of the spring thaws.

The Japanese Twelfth Division crossed the Yalu on April 28, and on the night of the 30th the rest of Kuroki's army effected a crossing and attacked Chin-lien-cheng, protected by a heavy artillery fire from the Wiju heights on the left bank, which had silenced the Russian guns. Driven back, the Russians made a stand at Feng-hwang-cheng, but were forced to withdraw and leave open the road to Liao-yang. The entrance to the harbor at Port Arthur had meanwhile been blocked, and on May 5 and 6 General Oku's army landed at Taku-shan. Kin-chow, situated on the neck separating Port Arthur from the mainland, was captured after eight days' fighting, and the Russians were forced back toward Port Arthur. Leaving General Nogi to advance with the Third Army on Port Arthur, General Oku followed the line of railroad northward and on June 14-16 defeated a force under General Stakelberg which had been sent to restore communications with Port Arthur. In the meantime General Kuroki had remained at Feng-hwang-cheng. On June 26-27 the capture of the Mo-tien-ling and Ta-ling passes gave him command of the road to Liao-yang and also of a by-road to Mukden, thus threatening General Kuropatkin's line of communications. The importance of the Mo-tien-ling Pass led to an attempt to recapture it on July 17, by General Keller. The Russians, however, were repulsed with heavy loss. During

July General Oku's forces were steadily advancing along the line of the railroad toward Liao-yang. An attempted diversion on the part of the Russian ships at Vladivostok proved of some annoyance to Japanese shipping as well as to neutral vessels. General Nogi had in the meantime been steadily pressing on Port Arthur. When at last he was able to command the harbor from the mainland the Russian fleet was forced to leave. They were encountered by Admiral Togo on August 10, and generally disabled and scattered, only a few returning to the harbor. The Vladivostok squadron on its way to effect a junction with them was met by Admiral Kamimura and severely crippled.

Japan was now free to land more troops, which she speedily did at Dalny and Newchwang. Kuroki had hoped to have General Nogi's army with him in the attack on Liao-yang. But the assault on Port Arthur, August 19-24, which was expected to be decisive, proved unsuccessful, and Nogi was forced to remain. Kuroki, nevertheless, advanced in three divisions on Liao-yang. Fighting began on August 25, but the general attack was kept off until September 1, when after great loss the Japanese seized the Shushan Hills in front of the city and entered it September 4. The Russians retired safely toward Mukden.

At last, on October 2, General Kuropatkin announced that he was ready to advance to the relief of Port Arthur. Impartial critics of the war were forced to admit that the obvious advantages of the situation, at the start, lay with Japan. Kuropatkin was thousands of miles away from his base of supplies, and these could only be forwarded by a single-track railroad, constructed for light traffic, and for a large part of the way on a temporary roadbed. After all these months of cautious delay, it was expected that the commander in chief would be in a position to redeem the situation. The Japanese armies were drawn up at a distance of twenty miles from Mukden. The Russians advanced to the attack, and the fighting lasted from October 9 to 19. The Japanese suffered many reverses during the engagements, notably the loss of Mount Putilov. But in the end the Russians withdrew to their base at Mukden, and the attempt to relieve Port Arthur had to be abandoned. In the meantime, the situation at Port Arthur was daily becoming more critical. General Nogi succeeded in gaining several commanding positions, notably on September 19-23. It was not until December 1, however, that 203 Meter Hill was captured after an assault last-

ing seven days. With this position in the hands of the Japanese, the ships remaining in the harbor were helpless. Port Arthur surrendered on January 1, 1905. The defense had at all times been spoken of as heroic.

Relieved from Port Arthur, General Nogi left for Mukden to join the rest of the Japanese forces. The Russians held the line of the Sha River before Mukden. It was not till February 20 that a general engagement was brought on. Desperate fighting lasted until March 9, when after having had both wings beaten back the Russians began their retreat to Tieling. Kuropatkin conducted the retreat most skillfully. He planned to make another stand at Harbin. This he was able to do, despite the fact that the Japanese cut the railroad between Tieling and Harbin, and harassed the Russian movements. At this point in the campaign Kuropatkin was removed from his command, his place being taken by General Linevitch.

In the meantime great preparations had been made by the Russian Government to send the powerful Baltic fleet to the scene of hostilities. It was expected that Admiral Rozhestvenski could redeem the naval situation in the Sea of Japan. From the beginning the expedition was ill-starred. An overexcited suspicion of Japanese attempts to intercept the fleet on its passage out led to a most deplorable blunder on the Dogger Bank off the English coast. Imagining some British steam trawlers to be Japanese torpedo boats, the Russians opened fire, damaging the ships and inflicting serious loss of life. Without attempting to verify their suspicions, the fleet steamed on, leaving the helpless ships to their fate. In England popular indignation was profound, and for a few days it seemed that an amicable settlement of the difficulty might not be possible. Orders were given for two squadrons of the fleet to be ready for action; but with much forbearance and good tact the English Government effected a settlement. The North Sea Commission, which met to hear evidence on the incident, declared the Russian fleet to be at fault, though without in any way compromising the official standing of the admiral in command, and Russia paid an indemnity. Complications again arose when, despite Japanese protests, the fleet coaled within French waters in Indo-China. Finally, toward the end of May, Admiral Rozhestvenski brought his fleet into the China Sea, and it was known that an engagement was imminent. The world was not long in suspense over the news of the battle, but it

was hardly prepared for the complete annihilation of the Russian squadron. Admiral Togo met the enemy in what is known as the naval battle of the Sea of Japan, off the coast of the Okino and Orleung Islands, on May 27 and 28. Out of twenty large Russian vessels, only five escaped, the rest being sunk or captured, together with many torpedo boats and destroyers. The Japanese losses were slight. The victory is partly explained by the superior range of the Japanese guns, and the excellent marksmanship of the Japanese gunners. On the Russian side there seems to have been lack of coöperation, and much inefficient work on the part of the crews.

In July expeditions were landed by the Japanese in Siberia and the Island of Sakhalin. The plan was to seize the island and to cut off the communications with Vladivostok. In Manchuria, Marshal Oyama had almost surrounded General Linevitch, and there were prospects of a battle which promised to surpass even that of Mukden, when the declaration of peace intervened.

Soon after the battle of the Sea of Japan the President of the United States took a step which solved the difficulty of bringing about negotiations between the two combatants. Friendly invitations were sent to Russia and Japan for a conference to be held in the United States. Both governments embraced the opportunity, and Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, was chosen as the seat of the conference. Russia was represented by Count Serge Witte, and Japan by Baron Komura. The negotiations, which began on August 9, seemed at first to give small hope of an agreement, as the Japanese terms appeared excessive. Russia categorically refused to consider the question of indemnity, upon which Japan was insistent. For a few days the conference seemed on the point of breaking up. Finally Japan, quite as anxious as Russia to bring the war to an end, and yielding, it is thought, to the friendly suggestion of President Roosevelt, withdrew the demand for indemnity, and accepted substantial concessions in the Island of Sakhalin. The terms of peace were agreed upon August 29, 1905.

Diplomatically, the negotiations were considered more or less of a triumph for Russia, yet popular opinion in both countries vented itself in strong disapproval. In Tōkyō the mob resorted to violence, and a somewhat bitter feeling was entertained toward the United States as being in part responsible for the modification of Japan's claims. Both governments, however, ratified the treaty, and this brought the war to an end.

Meanwhile, in Russia itself the government was giving way before the revolutionary movement. In January crowds of workingmen attempted to march to the palace in St. Petersburg to present a petition to the tsar. Probably violence was not intended. Many of the lower classes held to the theory that the tsar, whom they affectionately style the "Little Father," was really in sympathy with their suffering, but that he was prevented by a coterie of bureaucratic officials from knowing the true state of their grievances. It is impossible to describe the horror which ensued. Before the procession reached the palace it was fired upon by the troops and dispersed. This "bath of blood" merely intensified the revolutionary movement. On February 17 the Grand Duke Sergius was killed in Moscow by a bomb. The next day the minister of the interior was ordered to draw up a scheme of reforms. Strikes were everywhere prevalent in Poland, Finland, and in all the large cities. Finally the tsar issued a rescript calling for an elective Russian assembly. In choosing a descriptive term for this new body care was taken to fall back upon the old Russian word duma, with its implication of a consultative body, with no legislative authority. The granting of the duma appeased the people for a while till the killing of a workman in Warsaw precipitated a general strike throughout Russia and Poland. In Odessa the revolting populace seized the town, and a warship in the harbor fell into the hands of its own mutinied crew. The outbreak was suppressed, but the quiet which followed proved only a lull in the storm. In June a zemstvo congress met in Moscow and agreed to accept the tsar's offer of an advisory as the best means of securing eventually a parliamentary assembly.

Nevertheless the strike continued. Moscow and St. Petersburg were soon cut off from communication, famine threatened, and disorder everywhere prevailed. The people stopped work in order to force reform and at length the tsar offered more ample concessions. On October 31, 1905, an imperial manifesto was issued granting a more or less constitutional government, appointing Witte premier, extending the suffrage and removing some of the restrictions upon the press and the right of speech. But the political strike continued with rioting unchecked at Warsaw, Odessa, and Kazan. At Rostov, Kherson, Kishinev, Kiev, and other towns it resulted in anti-Semitic outrages in which the number of Hebrew victims mounted up into the thousands. Finland was quieted by

what amounted virtually to a restoration of the original constitution. But throughout the empire the unsparing régime of General Trepov, whom the tsar had made virtual military dictator, was loudly denounced and on November 9 he was relieved of his duties.

The vigorous exercise of martial law in Poland kept the rioting under control. Disaffection broke out even in the Black Sea fleet and at Sebastopol among the imperial troops, who were constantly being harangued by the revolutionists not to take part against their brethren, the common people. In Moscow the strike assumed the proportions almost of civil war, the rioters being shot down mercilessly by the soldiers of the tsar. At length the strike was declared ended but the workers were called upon to organize themselves in the meanwhile for a last general encounter with "bloody monarchy now in its last days."

The approaching meeting of the duma, and the election of representatives helped to quiet the storm. The result was an overwhelming victory for the constitutional democratic party. Count Witte, as premier, had difficulty in organizing a cabinet, and at length resigned, Count Goremkin succeeding. The work of the duma was undertaken and continued with enthusiasm, but on July 23, 1906, it was called to a halt by an imperial manifesto declaring the body dissolved.

The resignation of Count Goremkin followed, and Stolypin immediately assumed his place at the head of affairs. The tsar's ukase commented on the duma as having failed in the matter of "productive legislation" and bitterly rebuked the body for interference with those "Fundamental Laws which can only be modified by the imperial will." According to General von Schwanenbach, the imperial controller, the dissolution of the duma did not represent a step in retrogression to irresponsible absolutism. Von Schwanenbach declared that the principle of popular representation was firmly established with the tsar, but criticised the duma as having been elected under abnormal conditions and not truly representative of the sentiment of the people.

The duma, thus outlawed, in turn issued its manifesto from Viborg, Finland, whither its members had adjourned, enumerating the reforms attempted and closing with a strong appeal to the people to resist the orders of the government and to refuse to contribute taxes so long as they should have no representation. The tsar had promised to convoke a new duma after seven months. The danger

of such an interim was emphasized. It was claimed that it would be in fact a return to absolutism and might prove sufficient respite for the permanent establishment of a reactionary government. The terms of the Viborg Manifesto were direct and unmistakable, and three conservative members, Prince Lyov, Count Heyden, and Dr. Stakhovich, refused to affix their signatures and warned the Russian people against violent resistance to the government of the country.

The closing of the duma was followed by terrorist actions directed chiefly against officials, but including prominent men of

affairs, and, lastly, the soldiery and police. The number of assassinations was appalling. On August 25 an attempt was made on the prime minister himself, during a reception at his villa. The premier escaped, but the death of thirty other persons resulted and many were seriously injured.

Stolypin has declared his policy to be one of "strong-handed reform" and not reactionary, although it is insisted that a number of cautionary and restraining measures will be indispensible. Meanwhile normal administration has not yet been restored, so that martial law and what the Russian officials call extraordinary and

reinforced protection exists throughout almost the whole of the eighty-seven provinces. Stolypin is admitted to be an able administrator, with some touch of liberalism, so that it remains an open question whether the victory rests wholly with the reactionist party, as the dissolution of the duma seemed to indicate. General Trepov, in whom was generally recognized the reactionary power behind the throne, and who was probably the "best hated man in Russia," died at his home in September, 1906. At least six attempts to assassinate Trepov are known, but his death is officially reported to have been natural. It was considered significant that the tsar was not present at the funeral of his faithful servant, but the post of commandant of the palace was immediately filled by General Dediulin, a subordinate, who may be expected to reflect the training of his predecessor.

Late in August an imperial ukase provided for agrarian relief. Already Stolypin had promised an end to Semitic massacres in Russia, with promises, also, of speedy legislation for the alleviation of the Jewish people and the guaranty of religious liberty in general. But at Siedlice, in Russian Poland, one of the most terrible of all massacres of terrorists and Jews took place on September 8 and 9. The radicals predict a revolution as inevitable after the harvest, when the tax-gatherers make their rounds and the peasants, destitute and with nothing to do, will be ripe for violent measures.

The history of Russia since the Russo-Japanese war has been one of constant struggle between the Liberal and Conservative elements. Some excellent measures have been passed, but others have been defeated. On October 29, 1906, the tzar signed an ukase which removed the exacting restrictions which had laid so heavily upon the Old Believers; but in November of the same year, the senate disfranchised thousands of city and railroad employes, so that the good effected by one, was more than offset by the injustice of the other. One of the effects of the unrest felt all over the empire, was the killing of General Pavlov at St. Petersburg, on January 9, 1907.

The elections in the spring of 1907, resulted in the defeat of M. Kovalevski and Count Heyden, but indicated a majority for the opposition in the new duma. When the latter was opened, on March 5, of this year, the people of St. Petersburg indicated their displeasure by a revolutionary demonstration that was put down with some difficulty. However, the work of the duma was carried

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on, and the opposition elected five secretaries. A surprise was given Russia in Premier Stolypin's declaration of the policy of this duma, for it was the most liberal ever put before the people of the empire.

While internal matters were receiving due attention at home, Russia was carrying out her agreement with regard to Manchuria, and on March 22, 1907, the last battalion of Russian troops left that province, and the Russian evacuation was complete.

Dissatisfaction was being felt with the governor-general of Moscow, and on May 13th, the Constitutional Democrats passed a resolution advising the trial of him because of his so-called illegal action in putting to death five men. Other measures were brought up, and discussed in the duma, among them being the bill for the abolition of trial by drum-head court martial, but this latter was defeated by the upper house. On July 17th, one hundred and sixty-nine members of the first duma who drew up the Viborg manifesto, were arraigned for trial. While all this was taking place, on August 20th, the preliminary elections were held, and the Liberals scored a victory. This third duma was opened at St. Petersburg, November 14th, and one of its first actions was to decree that the title of autocrat was no longer tenable within the Russian state. In December of this same year, all of the Social Democrats held responsible for the dissolution of the second duma, were severely punished. A number of them were sent into exile to Siberia. It is pleasant to note in the midst of all these political disturbances, that Secretary Taft was received by the tzar, and his visit made a break in the over-heated atmosphere.

The new year was opened by the arrest of nineteen charged with conspiracy against the person and safety of the Dowager Empress, and about the same time all of the members of the executive committee of the Popular Socialist party were indicted upon the charge of conspiring to overthrow the government.

Before the close of January, 1908, the tzar signed the imperial ukase sanctioning a Russian internal loan of $83,000,000 at four per cent. On February 26th, the tzar received three hundred and twenty members of the duma and urged upon them the necessity of passing measures for agrarian reforms, but his advice received but scant attention. In April, the government dissolved the Finnish diet because of the sympathy it had expressed with the terrorists.

The Baltic and North Sea conventions which were of so much

importance to both Russia and Germany, were signed on April 23rd at both St. Petersburg and Berlin. All this time the government was constantly struggling against a repetition of the terrorism which had wrought so much disaster, and on September 15th, eighty-five persons were arrested, charged with an attempt to reopen a campaign of this nature. During December, the council of the Russian empire approved of the loan of $225,000,000, which placed the finances of the country upon a better basis.

The opening month of 1909, found Russian affairs in a better condition, but February 7th, General Fredericks, former governor of Nijni Novgorod, Russia, was convicted of the charges made against him of being concerned in the extensive grain frauds, and dismissed from the government service. Once more, the Finnish diet incurred the displeasure of the Russian duma, and was dissolved, February 22nd. During this same month, Russia, together with the other countries concerned seriously considered the Balkan situation, and on March 22nd, the government joined with Great Britain in formally demanding of the Shah of Persia that the terrible outrages committed by his troops be stopped, with the further sending of three gunboats to Astrabad to protect the inhabitants against the possibility of massacre. On May 11th, China and Russia signed an agreement of considerable importance which involved the government in Manchurian railroad zone territory.

On August 2nd, the tzar visited England, and in October he went to Italy, the first visit he ever paid to that country. In the meanwhile the duma took up a bill for the consolidation of the small holdings of Russian peasants. Considerable trouble was experienced the fall of this year with Finland, the diet refusing to pass the bill providing for the country's annual contribution to the Russian military budget. During November, the duma tried to restrict the powers of the police, and in December, the minister of justice was severely censured because he issued an order forbidding lawyers to visit their clients in the prisons. In that same month, the duma, refused through its committee on national defense, to grant credit for the building of new battleships.

For some time there was trouble between China and Russia, regarding the Manchurian railroads. So strong did this difficulty become, that the United States proposed to Russia that the latter sell the railroads to China, and have them governed by an international syndicate. This proposition has provoked much discussion,

not only between Russia and the countries immediately involved, but with Great Britain and France and Germany. Japan and Russia will not agree to this plan, but as all the powers appear to be interested, some satisfactory arrangements should be effected by means of which these important railroads will be freed from the complications which arise from oriental and occidental ownership.

The third duma sat from November 1, 1907, to June 21, 1912, and the fourth was elected in September, 1912. The power of the duma extends to all questions relating to new laws and the changing of old laws now in effect, to all budgets, to the construction of state railroads, and to such matters as are submitted to it by imperial decree. The council and the duma have equal legislative powers, both being able to initiate measures. Both houses have to pass all bills before they receive imperial consent. The third duma accomplished no reform worth mentioning. The principal business accomplished was legislation that destroyed the last vestige of Finland's Constitution and placed that country under the direct rule of Russia.

The result of the election to the fourth duma in September, 1912, was the return of the progressive parties. The most important legislation of the year was the Navy Bill providing for an expenditure of $215,000,000 during the five years of 1912-1917. In addition extensive harbor improvements are to be undertaken at Kronstadt, Sveaborg, and Vladivostok, while a new naval base is to be established at Reval, entailing an expenditure of over $35,000,000. The revenues of 1911 exceeded the expenditures by $115,000,000, but in 1912 there was a deficit of nearly $60,000,000, not counting the extraordinary expenses of the naval programme. The estimated deficit of 1913 will be about $16,000,000. In October, 1912, the little Tsarevitch met with an accident for which rumor gave many causes. It also became known that the heir to the Russian throne suffers from some blood disease that may imperil the succession. On February 6, 1913, the Council of the Russian Empire rejected the Duma Bill admitting women to the practice of law.

In March, 1913, the tercentenary celebration of the reign of the House of Romanoff took place. An Imperial manifesto was issued calling for special thanksgiving services in all churches. In May, 1913, the Tsar made a state visit to Berlin. In May also the Tsar made a pilgrimage to all the places traversed by his ancestor Michael

Feodorovitch, visiting Novgorod, Kostroma, Yaroslav, and Moscow, this being part of the imperial grand function of the Romanoff Tercentenary. Imperial Ukase to commemorate the Romanoff Tercentenary remitted various taxes and fines, and amnesty for press offences as well as for minor common law political offences, the commutation of death sentences to twenty years' imprisonment, as well as other special dispensations.

In the duma the debate on the budget brought out the fact that the budget of 1913 was the fourth without a deficit. The revenues from 1908 to 1913 had exceeded the expenditures by $706,500,000, and the free balance in the treasury during the year amounted to over $200,000,000. This good financial progress had been made too at a time when other nations richer than Russia had been forced to resort to new taxes. The Mongolian Special Mission arrived in Russia during the first part of 1913, and concluded an important treaty between Russia and Mongolia whereby Russian goods should have a preference over those of China.

The Amur region continued to be developed during the year, and the Amur railroad was opened as far as Blagovyeshchensk with a prospect of the whole line being completed by 1916.

The Russification of Finland continued during the year a special object of the Russian government. New rules taking effect in 1914 were passed in August, whereby the Imperial control over the financing of Finland were strengthened and a curb was placed on the power of the Finnish Diet.

In November, 1913, the noted so-called ritual murder trial took place, resulting in the acquittal of the man accused, one Beiliss, with complete failure of the prosecution to sustain the "blood accusation" against the Jewish people. The facts of the case were that a boy named Yushchinsky had been found murdered near brickworks owned by Jews. The wounds on his right temple it was attempted to prove were inflicted where it was said to be the custom of the Jews, in ritual murder, to inflict the blows on their victims. The evidence produced by the prosecution was ludicrous in the extreme and the accused was proven innocent and released.

The great event of 1914 in Russia was the abolition of the State sale of Vodka. The effect of this measure will be more far reaching in the future than any one event in the history of the country. For years the demoralizing effect of this monopoly was apparent, but until the beginning of 1914 no steps whatever had been

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taken to combat the evil. The stupendous task of doing away with this monopoly can better be understood when it is realized that the monopoly produced in revenue almost a third of the whole revenue of the kingdom. It was the largest item in the budget, and was only approached in importance by the revenue of the state railways. In February, 1914, M. Kokovtsov, who had been Premier since 1911, was succeeded by M. Goremykin. In March the Minister of Finance issued a circular to all excise inspectors urging the curtailment of the sale of drink. The first practical step was taken in March when an order was issued suspending the sale of drink in all railroad stations. The next step was taken at the outbreak of the great European War in August, 1914, when all liquor stores were closed during the period of mobilizing the troops. In October, 1914, the Czar made the final move by announcing his determination to prohibit forever the State sale of Vodka.

In March, 1914, the Duma passed the bill for the reform of the Senate's powers, a measure promised as far back as 1905. By the terms of the bill the Senate itself recommends suitable senators for appointment by the Czar and such appointees may be dismissed.

A serious strike took place in Petrograd in July, and for a while threatened to tie up the labor market in almost all trades. But with the threatening war situation the internal differences were hastily patched up so that a united people might take up the stupendous task of national defense brought about by the impending European conflict.

War was declared by Austria-Hungary on Serbia on July 28, 1914. As soon as hostilities broke out M. Sazonov—the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs—notified Berlin that the Russian troops in the region of Odessa, Kiev, Moscow, and Kazan had been mobilized.

On July 31, Russia notified Austria-Hungary that she would take no further steps provided Austria at once would stop the advance of her troops on Serbia. On Austria-Hungary's refusal to do so a general mobilization of the Russian troops was ordered. Germany on August 1 declared war on Russia and on August 4, 1914, Austria-Hungary also formally declared war on Russia. The great World War had begun. Its progress was to see Russia repeatedly saving the cause of her western Allies—at the expense of disintegration within the Empire. It was to see the throne of the Czars fall and the period of attempted liberalism that followed

give way in turn to Bolshevism and a new type of government—the "Soviet Republic," a dictatorship of the proletariat and of the Communist Party, with the principles of the Third International.

A decade later, the world's amazement at the apparent success of a new, strange and yet powerful experiment in government and society was to be unabated. Of all results of the World War, this would probably affect the course of future history most.

Merely to outline the vast and kaleidoscopic changes that took place in Russia between 1905, when she met defeat in the war with Japan and put down a revolution, and 1928, which saw Soviet Russia entering upon a new phase in the development of Communistic rule, is to sketch the most dramatic and fantastic chapter in modern history. Russia's story during this relatively brief period, conceived as a tremendous drama, is the most profoundly significant and moving of which we have any record. It is a drama involving more than a hundred and fifty million people, millions of whom were sacrificed in the gigantic upheavals that attended the waging of two great wars in which Russia suffered defeat, the turmoil following the overthrow of Czarism and the horrors of revolution and counter-revolution.

To the world at large the Russian drama remained more or less incomprehensible years after its important climaxes had passed, although the Russian Revolution, in the view of students of history, is destined to exert a profound influence upon the course of civilization.

Russia's story cannot be fully told in ordered sequence, yet it has a certain logic and consistency in that every amazing act had its recognizable cause, and the more confusing ramifications have their explanations in the complexity of the variegated Russian scene. Across that scene, against the lurid background of a seething mass of distraught and many-hued peoples, flash the glittering or dynamic figures whose vivid personalities provide the key to the surging and tumultuous spectacle. A weak and vacillating Czar, a strong-willed but superstitious Czarina, shadowed by the malevolent Rasputin; a cloud of petty bureaucratic tyrants, noble parasites, obtrusive ministers, cruel, tinsel-bedecked generals and dashing Cossacks with flashing, blood-stained sabres; a smaller, more sombre group of intelligent, civilized men of moderate intent, who would have Russia take her place in the family of nations. Later we see the social revolutionaries, the fiery orators, such as

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Kerensky, crowded and jostled by furtive, determined Nihilists, and jeered by morbid anarchs. Still later we see the dark-visaged figures of Lenin and Trotsky emerge from the crowd, waving their flaming red banners. In their wake come the terroristic Cheka, led by the impassive, oriental-eyed Dzershinsky. Finally, from behind the awesome, box-like mausoleum of Lenin, emerges the determined Stalin, the brilliant Zinoviev, the placid Rykov and other able Soviet leaders, to manipulate in their own way the mass that had been given cohesion by Lenin.

Peter the Great called his new capital on the Neva a window opening on Europe. He wanted Russia to look to the West. This was also the purpose of the great Catherine. But Soviet Russia has moved its capital away from European influence, and while Finland, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and Poland are free countries carved out of old Russia on the west, the new government's influence toward the east is as threatening in 1928 as ever in the days of the Czar's empire.

In 1904-1905, war with Japan followed an attempt to extend the grip of the Russian bear over Asia. The effort failed and Russia again turned toward the West. Germany was the chief beneficiary of Russia's defeat in Manchuria, and, despite the French and British money lent to Russia, it was Germany that did most to bring about the intense industrial development that took place in Russia between 1905 and 1914.

Count Witte, the "enlightened bureaucrat," was the man who completed the Trans-Siberian Railroad and did much to modernize the Russian state before the war. But Witte only braced the tottering bureaucracy and enabled it to bear harder upon the Russian peasant masses. The abortive revolution of 1905 was followed by reaction, which was not greatly mitigated by the nominal reforms forced from the reluctant Czar. The Manifesto of October 30, 1905, creating the First Duma, failed utterly to satisfy the demands for relief from the rule of absolutism. The Duma merely gave the reformers a rostrum from which they could appeal to the country. This led to the curtailing of the franchise so that the government had a majority in the Third and Fourth Dumas, while the Stolypin ministry continued to oppress the people. Drastic steps were taken to suppress agitation, and the Government aroused new bitterness among the non-Russian peoples within the Empire by refusing them political rights. This was particularly true of the Finns, the

Poles and the Jews. In his attempt at land reform, Stolypin destroyed the old communal system without creating a satisfactory substitute, thus arousing the peasantry as it had never been stirred before. Stolypin was assassinated on September 14, 1911, by an educated Jew named Bogrov. He was succeeded by Kokovtsov, an able man who improved Russia's finances, but otherwise continued the age-old policies of repression.

Despite its cruelty, Czarist Russia had the support of the masses in its foreign policy, and only a small group of Social Democrats in the Duma failed to give the Government full support when the World War began. To what degree the old Russian régime was responsible for the war future historians must determine. Only lack of military preparedness and German threats caused Russia to submit to the annexation of Herzegovina and Bosnia by Austria-Hungary in 1909, and she strengthened her alliance with France to combat German aggression. Russia was not amply prepared for war in 1914, but had built up her military forces and was preparing a much more formidable machine. Whether or not Russia shared in precipitating the war, it may be said that her rulers at first welcomed the struggle as a means of stifling growing rebellion.

Russia's part in the Great War was tragic in every sense. She achieved many brilliant victories, yet suffered the most terrible defeats. The Czar's armies surprised the world by the rapidity of their mobilization, which actually got under way before the declaration of hostilities; on the other hand, her casualties and sufferings exceeded those of any other nation, and the political overturn that came in the end was probably the most remarkable in all history.

PART V

THE WORLD WAR. 1914-1917

Chapter XIX

MILITARY OPERATIONS ON THE RUSSIAN FRONTS. 1914-1917.

ALREADY, before war had been formally declared by any of the belligerents, Russia was mobilizing her forces; indeed, this had been the subject of Germany's ultimatum to Russia on July 30, 1914. Unlike Germany and Austria, whose reservists were already assigned to their regiments, battalions and companies, the reserves of Russia must be first mobilized, then organized. Here, it was supposed, was Russia's great handicap. By the time her armies could be prepared for action, Germany would have disposed of her enemies on the Western Front, and Austria would have conquered Serbia. Tremendous distances and the Russian system of organization would make for slowness. Most of the serviceable railroads in the country were single tracked, inadequate for transporting great numbers of troops from the distant provinces to points of mobilization.

The armed forces of Russia, on a peace footing, numbered about 1,200,000 men. The first call to the colors brought the total number up to about 4,100,000. It was expected that the Russian Army had been much improved in training, organization and equipment since the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, under the direction of the Grand Duke Nicholas; but the Empire was not thoroughly industrialized like the Great Powers of Western Europe, and this fact was to prove a serious obstacle when the vast Slav nation was faced with the problem of maintaining such immense armed forces in the field. Nevertheless, at the beginning, Russia's quickness in making ready to fight had the effect of changing the course of the war from that the Teutonic Powers had foreseen.

On August 3, 1914, the first shot on the Eastern Front was fired, near Libau. Two days later the Russians crossed the frontier, drove back the German advance posts, and seized the railroad which ran south and east of the Mazurian Lakes. The Germans, numbering not more than half a million in East Prussia, retired, burning villages behind them. On August 7, the main body of Russians fol-

lowed, under command of General Rennenkampf, and advanced through Suwalki toward the swampy region of which the Mazurian Lakes are the center.

The retiring Germans, under command of General von François, made a stand at Gumbinnen on August 16, but were overwhelmingly defeated. They retreated again, and now it seemed unlikely that they could make any resistance east of Königsberg. The Russians, being in the field much earlier than the Germans had counted on, were masters of East Prussia, and it became necessary for Germany to detach large forces from the western armies to drive back the Slav invasion.

General von Hindenburg, a retired officer, was considered a crank on the topography of the Mazurian Lake country of East Prussia and was reputed to be personally familiar with every square mile of its swamps, waterways and roads. He knew the country now invaded as no other German, military or civilian, knew it. The General Staff recalled him from retirement and placed him in command of the army of defense of East Prussia. He immediately repaired to that front and gathered together the remnants of General von François' beaten forces. In addition, he had large reinforcements from the West and behind him was the admirable network of the German strategic railroads. But before him was a Russian army outnumbering his own and full of the confidence bred by an unexpectedly easy victory.

The Russians were already before Königsberg. Another corps, commanded by Samsonov, had pushed on to the northwestern point of the lakes and defeated a considerable force of Germans at Frankenau. Elated with his success, Samsonov advanced toward Allenstein, in among the bogs which he knew so slightly, his men numbering about 200,000. Coming to a lake, he was compelled to divide his forces into two columns. Before he could re-unite his soldiers beyond the lake, on August 26, his advance guards were everywhere driven in by the Germans.

Hindenburg was already in the field, in a terrain every foot of which he knew. Before him lay the lake; he was safe from frontal attack. Each of his wings faced one of the Russian columns detouring the lake. At will, he could reinforce either wing from the center. The Russians attacked for two days, the Germans standing their ground and allowing the Russian regiments to shatter themselves against an impregnable position. Then Hindenburg counter-

attacked on his right, and the Russians found themselves hopelessly involved in a maze of swamps. On the last day of the battle, August 31, Samsonov, the Russian commander, was killed, and his army became disorganized, seeking safety in flight. Thus, at the Battle of Tannenberg (named for a small town in the neighborhood), the Germans largely retrieved their initial disaster in East Prussia. Von Hindenburg was made a Field Marshal and placed in supreme command of all German troops on the Eastern Front.

The remnants of Samsonov's army retreated toward the Narev, with the Germans in pursuit. Meanwhile the Russian army under Rennenkampf, investing Königsberg, began a retreat toward the Niemen. At Gumbinnen this army came in contact with the German left wing, but Rennenkampf made no effort to fight a general action at this point; he wished to reach first the farther side of the river. The Germans followed his retreat closely, across the frontier and through the Augustowo forests, where another rear guard action approaching the dimensions of a battle became known as the First Battle of Augustowo—a German victory. The Russians, however, had no reason to fight a decisive action yet. The farther eastward they went, the greater would become their strength, for Russian mobilization had been going on and reinforcements were rolling westward in a steady stream.

Rennenkampf took his troops safe across the Niemen and intrenched before the Germans came up. The next day, September 21, 1914, the German artillery began raking the Russian side of the river. The Russians replied with equal fury, then allowed their fire to die down gradually, giving the impression of having their batteries silenced one by one. The Germans began building pontoon bridges, but no sooner were they completed than the Russian guns burst forth and literally blew them out of the water. Again the Germans attempted to take the Russian positions by artillery fire; the Russians repeated their ruse. The Germans built more pontoon bridges and a considerable number of troops crossed, only to have the bridges smashed again by Russian fire. Hindenburg now gave the order to retreat. Back through the forests of Augustowo he marched, the Russians following closely. And again there was heavy fighting in the thick woods, with disastrous losses to the Germans, who had 60,000 killed, wounded or captured. Finally, Hindenburg brought his army back to the lake region, where he handed the command to General von Schubert, and himself hurried

south to direct the relief of the Austrians, who were suffering severely from Russian attack on that front.

The importance of the quick mobilization of Russian armies was obvious, for it lessened the force of the German blow in the West by placing Germany for a time on the defensive in East Prussia and greatly hindered the Austrians by the powerful opposition they developed against her, for not only had the Russians been able to attack the Germans—on a more gigantic scale they had conducted operations in Galicia, facing the Austrians, who, counting on slowness of Russian mobilization, had expected to take the offensive. It seems evident that at least in the beginning of the war, the Allies were saved by Russia, whose activity made both of the Central Powers keep large forces to oppose her.

The Austrians on this front numbered not less than a million men. Of these about 250,000 were held in reserve among the foothills below the Carpathian Mountains. The rest were divided into two armies. The First Army, under General Dankl, was preparing to advance from Przemysl. The Second Army, under General von Auffenberg, was based on Lemberg.

The First Austrian Army began its advance early, and crossed the Austrian frontier on August 11, 1914, meeting little resistance. The Russians before it fell back toward the Bug, and the Austrians, encouraged by this, followed rapidly, turning slightly eastward.

But presently the Austrians found that there were more Russians opposed to them than they had counted on. On August 14, 1914, a large Russian force under General Ruzsky crossed the frontier from the southward and advanced toward General von Auffenberg's army. This unexpected move at once endangered the right flank and rear of the First Austrian Army, under Dankl. The latter immediately called a halt to his advance, whereupon a second Russian army, under Brusilov, suddenly appeared from farther south and presented itself against the right flank of the Second Austrian Army.

Still, Auffenberg, underestimating the enemy's strength, was not alarmed and confidently gave battle. But on August 24 the two Russian armies came together, like the points of a pair of pincers, and Auffenberg found himself in great danger. The Austrian lines broke, and finally the retreat degenerated into a flight. On the 28th, Tarnopol was taken by the Russians and the Austrians were forced to retreat until they came upon their positions to the south and east of Lemberg. On September 4 that important city was evacuated

by the Austrians and fell into the hands of the Russians under Brusilov, together with great quantities of war materials and prisoners.

Brusilov followed up his advantage with energy, and at once despatched a large force toward the mountains, to occupy the important passes. The rest of his army he sent toward Przemysl. Ruzsky, meanwhile, turned northward and proceeded against the First Austrian Army, under Dankl. By this time Dankl, sending for assistance, had received large reinforcements, not only from his own reserves, but from the Germans. On September 4 he made a hard drive against the Russian centre. For six days the fighting continued, the Austrians outnumbering the Russians, but the attack was nevertheless a failure. On September 10 the Austrians under Dankl were definitely beaten and were sent flying westward and southward, some of the units making for Cracow and others retiring toward Przemysl.

The Austrian debacle was complete; Poland had been swept entirely clean of Austrians. The Russians were entirely victorious, marching toward Cracow.

Certain changes were now made in the arrangement of the Russian armies. General Ivanov was placed in command of the army operating in Galicia, with Dimitriev and Brusilov as his chief lieutenants. Brusilov was to devote himself to seizing the Carpathian passes and threatening the plains of Hungary. Dimitriev was to follow up the retreating Austrians and operate against the fortresses of Central Galicia, Jaroslav and Przemysl.

On September 23 Ivanov captured the first of these two strongholds, Jaroslav, on the main railroad line from Lemberg to Cracow. He then turned toward the second stronghold, Przemysl, but here the Russians were compelled to invest the city and settle down to a regular siege.

The Russian success in Galicia had been far more brilliant than could have been expected. Austrian power had literally crumbled before the Russian attack. And now the road lay open for a still greater achievement—an advance on the capital of Austrian Poland, Cracow. Accordingly, after the crumpling up of the Austrian resistance, the Grand Duke Nicholas turned his attention to planning an advance against that important city. To capture that would be to hold the open doorway to the capital of Austria itself—Vienna. More important still, the Germans themselves would be

seriously threatened by an army holding Cracow. Another big object to be gained would be to take from the control of the Germans the Galician oil wells, the supply of which was especially important to them.

It was at this juncture that Hindenburg appeared on the scene. Under his direction a German army was sent marching from Posen to the north bank of the Vistula. This promised to endanger the right of the Russian army advancing toward Cracow, so a halt was called, within ten days' march of the city. It was obvious now that the Germans were beginning an advance into Russian Poland, toward Warsaw.

Hindenburg now had behind him an army of about 750,000 Germans, while on his right he had the support of the reorganized Austrian armies, numbering about a million. Altogether, from the Baltic down to the Carpathians, the Teutons now had on the Eastern Front forces approaching close to 2,500,000 men. Russia, at that time, probably had not more than two million men along her nine hundred miles of front, but vast reserves were still mobilizing back in the interior.

The first battle of Hindenburg's drive into Poland began on October 16, 1914. Within three days the Russians had smashed in the German right wing, at Josefov, on the Vistula. Then the Russians crossed the river and continued driving the Teutons before them. By November 3 the Germans were driven back to Kielce, where their line was definitely broken.

Simultaneously, Rennenkampf, advancing southward in East Prussia, attacked the German extreme left wing, with equally brilliant success, and then the whole Teuton line was hurled back in full retreat. There was only one exception to the general Russian success, and that was in the extreme south of the front, where the Austrians swept eastward against the Russians under Ivanov, and relieved the siege of Przemysl and recaptured Jaroslav.

This single Teuton success was only temporary, however, for a few days later the Russians returned with heavy reinforcements, recaptured Jaroslav and once more besieged Przemysl, before the latter stronghold's garrison could be revictualled.

Again the Russians had triumphed, and now once more they turned toward their main objective—Cracow. The whole Russian line in Poland and Galicia therefore began a general advance, swarms of Cossack cavalry being sent ahead to clear the way.

1914

On November 10 the Russian advance guards crossed the frontier into Posen and cut the railroad to Cracow. Two days later the Russian cavalry was in Miechow on the German frontier not more than twenty miles north of Cracow.

Meanwhile Hindenburg was making it obvious that he did not intend to allow the Russians too free a hand. Retiring northward, he began to assemble a large army at Thorn, bringing his total strength up to about 800,000 Germans. His preparations completed, he again swept forward, toward Warsaw. With him were two of Germany's best generals—Ludendorff and von Mackensen.

Before this German army, protecting Warsaw, the Russians had not much more than 200,000 men.

Meanwhile, the Russian advance toward Cracow continued, and during the first week of December the Russian cavalry was already raiding the suburbs of the city. But on December 12 Austrian forces, advancing from Hungary toward the Carpathians, succeeded in driving the Russians out of Dukla Pass. This was a serious threat against the rear end line of communications of the Russian army advancing into Austrian Poland. The Russians advancing on Cracow, under Dimitriev, were therefore compelled to retire, until their front was east of Dukla Pass, placing them in a position facing the danger from that direction.

On the 20th the Russians again assumed the offensive, and attacked the Austrians in Dukla Pass with their left wing, while the right wing was sent up the river Nida, toward Cracow again. Before the end of the month the Russians had recaptured Dukla Pass and delivered a crushing blow at the Austrians, taking prisoners more than 10,000 men.

Meanwhile, Hindenburg's advance on Warsaw was developing. The German pressure was applied gradually, and presently the Russians realized the superior force of the Germans. The former, under Ruzsky, were compelled to retire. The Russians sought to shelter themselves behind the River Bzura, between Thorn and Warsaw. The Russian right wing retired, past Lodz, into a region of lakes and marshes.

The Germans followed closely, and forced the Russians to a stand in the marshes, the main fighting being on a causeway. Here the Germans drove so hard that they broke through the Russian line and broke it into two parts; one on the south, around Lodz, the other on the Vistula, east of Brezin. For a few hours it seemed as

though the Russians were doomed to suffer a crushing defeat, but at the last moment reinforcements arrived from Warsaw, and the Germans were driven back, enabling the Russian line to reform. In filling the gap the Russian reinforcements cut off the retreat of a large body of Germans, numbering nearly 100,000 men, and now it seemed as though the tables had been turned on von Hindenburg. The Russian commander, Ruzsky, made heroic endeavor to capture the trapped Germans, but at the last moment a force under Rennenkampf, on which he had counted to accomplish the feat, failed him, and the Germans succeeded in escaping.

The Germans had been definitely driven back, but meanwhile further reinforcements were arriving from Germany, and Hindenburg determined to make another attempt.

In the manœuvring which followed the Russians quietly evacuated Lodz, on December 6, and the Germans entered that city without opposition. The Germans now struck at the Russian right wing, which was then north of the Bzura River and east of Lowicz. At the same time the Germans in East Prussia were sent forward, with the object of cutting the railroad line between Petrograd and Warsaw. This latter move, however, was severely defeated. But further south the Russians were not so successful. Here the Russians began a slow retreat, along their whole line, though they hurled back the numerous attacks made against them by von Hindenburg's advancing forces.

But the German advance was merely battering itself to pieces against the Russian granite. Their continuous frontal attacks were costly in the extreme; though they advanced and the Russians retreated, they lost more heavily.

Severe winter weather now compelled both sides to settle down, and though the situation never became the same as in France for long stretches the two lines faced each other from their trenches. For about a month no important movements were made.

Toward the beginning of February, 1915, the Russians in East Prussia became active. But before this could develop into anything serious, Hindenburg advanced his troops against the Russian centre, at Balinov. By February 3 the Russians were suffering heavily, but reinforcements arrived in time to save the line from being breached, and next day the Germans were checked. Then the Russians counter-attacked, and so heavy had the German losses been that they broke before the Russian advance and fled.

1915

Hindenburg now realized that he could not win Warsaw by his frontal drives. He now made a radical change in his plans of campaign. He must encircle the Polish capital, on a grand scale. He therefore ordered the Austrians to make a determined advance from their positions behind the Carpathians, while the Germans in East Prussia were directed to make another effort to advance on the Petrograd-Warsaw railroad line.

Placing most importance on this latter move, which, if successful, could be swung southward and in behind Warsaw, Hindenburg went personally to assume command of operations in East Prussia. Gathering together an army of over a quarter of a million men, he determined to deliver a smashing blow against the Russians on this extreme northern section of the front, which here did not number 150,000 men, and which was now under the command of Baron Sievers.

Hard fighting ensued, and gradually the Russians were forced back by overwhelming numbers. But by February 20 the Germans had spent their strength and were unable to force the Russians further back. Then the Russians, reinforced, began counter-attacking. For two weeks the fighting continued with severe intensity, and then it was the turn of the Germans to retire.

Meanwhile, further south, at Przasnysz, the Germans had also made an advance, toward the Narew, on February 22. Here the Russians ran out of ammunition and resorted to bayonet attacks, so successfully that the Germans were hurled back. And so the attempts to outflank Warsaw were defeated for the time being.

During this period active operations were going on down in the extreme south of the Eastern Front. Here the Austrians, supported by German stiffening, made a strong effort to advance to the relief of Przemysl, which was still being besieged. The Russians still occupied the Carpathian passes, but they were not strong enough to make any further advance, down into the plains of Hungary.

In three separate armies, the Austrians began their forward push, through severe winter weather The first of these armies advanced to the relief of Przemysl, the second made for Lemberg, while the third prepared to invade Bukowina.

The first Austrian army was kept in check by Brusilov, while the second was held back by Dimitriev. But down in Bukowina the Russians were not so successful, for here the Austrians succeeded in driving the invaders back, capturing Czernowitz, Kolo-

mea and Stanislau. But before the whole province could be reconquered, the Russians were reinforced, and then the Austrians were steadily driven back. They had, however, taken the Carpathian passes, and now the Russians found it impossible to reestablish themselves there again.

On March 22 the whole Allied world rejoiced over the fall of Przemysl. It was considered a stronghold of the first magnitude, and its capture by the Russians was regarded as a stunning blow against Austria.

The siege had lasted four months. The garrison, naturally numbering nearly 100,000 men, were taken prisoners, and the large army of Russians besieging the city was released for service on the fighting front.

During the latter part of March the Russians continued their efforts to retake the Carpathian passes. The fighting here was very severe, and within two weeks over fifty thousand Austrians were taken prisoners. During this period Lupkov Pass was reoccupied by the Russians, and later the Uzzok Pass was cleared of the enemy by a movement against its southern entrance.

Meanwhile Germany was making a supreme effort to drive back the Russians once for all. A tremendous army, with guns of huge calibre and vast quantities of ammunition, was being moved from Germany to the Eastern Front. Altogether the Germans mustered quite two million men. In command of this vast force was General von Mackensen.

Late in April the big German offensive began, and the Russians were taken completely by surprise. Suddenly Mackensen moved his right wing forward, in the direction of Gorlice. On May 1 the general attack began. The Russian forces facing this effort collapsed.

On came the Germans, winning one victory after another. By May 11 the bulk of their line lay west of the lower San as far as Przemysl, then south to the upper Dniester.

By this time the Russian high command realized that its forces were inadequate to withstand this onrushing tide, and it was planned to make a general but a gradual retreat, in the hope that the Germans would eventually wear themselves out.

Thus began the great Russian retreat of 1915.

That this big scale reverse to the Russians was due to the superior numbers and armament of the Teutonic Allies was the general

impression at the time. Later it became obvious that sinister influences were at work in Petrograd, poisoning the very fountainhead of Russian authority. As became evident later, the Russians began, in the second year of the war, to suffer tremendously from lack of ammunition. Quantities of such stores were shunted off to sidings in provincial towns and left uselessly standing there. At critical times, notably during the heavy fighting in the Carpathian passes, the ammunition supplies would fail the armies. By June 18, as Mackensen's troops were approaching Lemberg, the Russian losses were estimated at nearly half a million dead, with nearly as many taken prisoners. On June 23, the Russians were compelled to give up Lemberg.

The Germans were also successful in the north, where they swept the Russians before them and invaded Courland, captured Libau, and firmly established themselves in the province.

By the beginning of the last week of July, Warsaw was all but taken. The German advance lines then ran through Novgorod in the North, thence to Novogeorgievsk, around Warsaw, then close to Ivangorod, Lublin, Chelm, thence just east of Lemberg. On August 5, the Russians were compelled to abandon Warsaw. For days previous there had been a steady stream of refugees from the city, seeking safety in Russia.

Russian Poland was now virtually in the hands of the invaders, but the great Russian Army was still comparatively intact, in spite of its heavy losses, which, in all probability, did not much exceed those of the Germans. The Germans had taken Warsaw, but they had not taken any part of the Russian Army with it. The value of the victory was almost entirely political.

The Russian retreat was, in fact, a masterly display of military skill on the part of the Russian High Command. Again and again when a city or a fortress was evacuated, the act was accomplished just before the critical moment, so that only a minimum loss in the circumstances was suffered. Never was any large part of the Russian Army captured.

After the capture of Warsaw, the German lines still continued their eastward advance. One after another the important strongholds fell into their hands—Kovno, Novogeorgievsk, Ivangorod, Ossowitz, Brest-Litovsk, and Grodno.

On September 5, it was announced that Grand Duke Nicholas had been relieved of the command of the Russian armies on the

Eastern Front, and that he had been transferred to the field of operations in the Caucasus. The Czar assumed command, in theory, at least, for in actual fact he was unfitted for such a position. As Chief of Staff, General Alexiev became commander-in-chief on the whole Eastern Front. Though Alexiev was a man of high ability, there was a general feeling that the change had for its object matters other than military—that Grand Duke Nicholas blocked intrigues close to the court in Petrograd, and that there was a desire to remove him to scenes more remote.

On September 8, General Brusilov began a drive against the Austrians down in the extreme south, near Tarnopol, and sent them back with heavy losses in prisoners. And at about that time Dubno and Lutsk were abandoned by the Teutons, in face of the renewed Russian counter-attacks. By the beginning of October, the Teuton lines had ceased to advance.

The Russian lines extended from Riga in the north, along the Dvina River to Dvinsk, through the Pripet Marshes, thence south in almost a straight line. Further south the Teutons were content now to hold what they had gained, but in the north Hindenburg now made further attempts to advance. His effort to take Riga, with the assistance of the German Baltic fleet, turned out a complete failure, the Russian war vessels driving the German ships back. A drive against the Russian lines at Dvinsk was equally unsuccessful, and disastrous to the Germans in the losses they sustained. The river could not be crossed, and the Germans were compelled to retire.

In March, 1916, the Russians began an offensive against the Germans in the neighborhood of Lake Narotch, wherein the latter suffered severe defeat, though later reinforcements enabled them to recover some of the lost ground. This was a preliminary skirmish compared to the grand offensive of the Russian Army in 1916. On June 2, 1916, Vienna reported unusual artillery activity along the front in Volhynia, which "assumes the character of artillery battles." "Everywhere," added a later report, "there are signs of an impending infantry attack."

Austria was just then beginning a strong offensive on the Italian front, and there can be no doubt that the Russian offensive was timed to relieve the pressure against the Italians. On June 4, on a front of more than three hundred miles, the Russians attacked from the Rumanian frontier to the Pripet Marshes, overwhelming the Austrians before them. Within forty-eight hours, 25,000 pris-

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CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE IN OCTOBER, 1917, LENIN PRESIDING. TROTSKY IS AT THE RIGHT, FOURTH FROM THE FRONT OF THE TABLE

1916

oners had been taken. On the Lutsk plain, the Russian line advanced twenty miles in two days. On June 8, the Fortress of Lutsk was taken, and on the same day prisoners taken numbered 60,000.

So swift and furious was the onslaught of the Czar's armies, that the Austrian front crumpled. On June 11, Dubno fortress was taken. All Allied Europe and America rang with the name of the Russian general in command of the apex of this remarkable drive—Brusilov. With the fall of Dubno, the Russians were again in possession of the fortress triangle—Lutsk, Dubno and Rovno. Meanwhile, Hindenburg was endeavoring to relieve the pressure on the Austrians by a strong attack in the north along the Dvina line, but these efforts broke down without much result.

June 17, 1916, was a red-letter day in the Russian calendar; on that day Czernowitz, the capital of Bukowina, was again in Russian possession. The attack which ended with this important event had lasted six days and was one of the most furious battles of the campaign. On the Stokhod River, however, before Kovel, where German troops gave stiffening to the defense, the Russian advance was held back. But the continued German attacks up near Dvinsk, by which Hindenburg attempted to break through the Russian lines, were meeting with heavy losses and no gain in ground.

Down in the Bukowina, the Russian advance rolled on. By June 23, with the capture of Kimpolung, the whole province was in the hands of the Czar's soldiers.

Toward the end of June the fury of the Russian advance seemed to have somewhat abated. They had taken 200,000 prisoners.

Near the end of July, the Russian drive again assumed intensity. In the Bukowina, the Russian troops were again approaching the Carpathian passes, which they had been compelled to relinquish during the great retreat. By this time, too, they were in possession of that part of Eastern Galicia located north of the Pruth and Dniester rivers and east of the Strypa River. A tremendous effort was now made in the direction of Stanislau and Lemberg. The battle for the possession of the former city began on August 9 and continued for two days. On the evening of the 10th, the Russians entered Stanislau, then drove on beyond.

The drive toward Lemberg proceeded more slowly. Here, as well as on the Stokhod River, the Teutons made desperate resistance, and with considerable success. The Russian offensive was not at

its crest, and this show of remarkable results influenced Rumania to stake her fortune on the side of the Allies.

Heavy fighting continued until the beginning of severe winter weather, but in spite of the fact that Rumania had now lengthened the front which the Teuton Allies must defend, the slight progress made was at very heavy cost to the Russians. Obviously, the Germans had been preparing for a counter-blow, but instead of being able to deliver it against the Russians, it was needed to drive the Rumanians back. Thus Russia was able to hold all she had gained during the summer. But the strain of the tremendous effort had told on the whole social fabric of the nation. The danger was not now so much from the Germans as from internal elements making for disintegration—not only the war weariness of the Russian people, but something more intangible—the treachery of personages who were in places of high authority, close to the Czar.

There were still other Russian fronts. It was in the middle of December, 1914, that the Russian forces stationed along the frontier in the Caucasus were compelled to engage in active operations. Russia had a gigantic enough task on her hands to hold her nine-hundred-mile front against the Austrians and the Germans from the Rumanian frontier to the Baltic, without undertaking an offensive against the Turks. But the Turks began an offensive against the Russians on the Caucasus front in December, 1914, which lasted only a few weeks. On November 4, 1914, Russian troops had entered Asia Minor and had advanced for seventeen miles along the road to Erzerum, in Armenia.

In a three days' battle, early in January, 1915, the Russians drove the Turks, capturing a whole army corps. In February, 1915, the Turkish Black Sea fleet bombarded the Russian forces at Trebizond and Rizah. Shortly afterward the Turkish ships bombarded the Russian port of Jalta, in the Crimea. By the end of May, the Russians had advanced as far as Van and had taken that town, and soon the whole province, as well as the Sandjak of Mush, was occupied by them.

Early in February, the Russian Army of the Caucasus was ready for a march on Erzerum. Within a week, the three advancing columns were in touch with the outer defenses of the great Turkish stronghold. The Russian forces engaged here numbered about 300,000 men, while the Turks were about 200,000. After several days of severe fighting, the Russians took the fortress and city on Feb-

ruary 15, 1916. The Turkish army escaped intact across Armenia.

With Erzerum as a base, the Russians now spread south toward Mush, Bitlis and the region along Lake Van, along a front of nearly three hundred miles. The main advance, however, was toward the Black Sea port of Trebizond.

On March 2, 1916, the Russians occupied Bitlis, 110 miles south of Erzerum and one of the most important trade centers in this part of the Turkish Empire. Soon after, Rizeh, on the Black Sea, was occupied. By the middle of March, the Russians were within one day's march of Trebizond. By this time Turkish reinforcements were arriving and the Russian advance was somewhat halted. On April 18, however, after a hard battle, the Russians entered Trebizond. The advantage gained was political rather than military, for the Turkish defending forces had made good their escape forty-eight hours before the Russians entered the city. On the other hand, the Turks were now deprived of their principal port on the Black Sea. This was the height of Russian success in this region, for the Russo-Turkish campaign now became secondary to the main operations in Europe. On March 3, 1917, it was announced that the Russians had captured the city of Hamadan, in Persia, which had been occupied by the Turks in 1915. On March 18, the city of Van was occupied. Some slight further advances were later made, but the Russian campaign against Turkey had now practically come to an end, not because any final objective had been gained, but because of the political disintegration which was now beginning to cause the military power of Russia to crumble.

Chapter XX

INTERNAL DISINTEGRATION OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT IN THE EXIGENCIES OF THE WAR. REVOLUTION. 1914-1917.

AT THE outbreak of hostilities, the Premier in power was Ivan L. Goremykin, a typical autocrat, who had served four czars faithfully and who was now more than seventy years old. Whether from force of mental habit or from personal sympathy, he played into the hands of the "dark forces," as the people termed certain sinister individuals and influences surrounding the Czar. Perhaps, too, his age was an element in the incapacity he showed in meeting war conditions. The sudden demands made by the war, in fact, had little impression on his policies—he attempted to steer the administration of the country along the same path it had pursued previously. He initiated a campaign of persecution against the Jews, although they, like the population in general, were responding to the general enthusiasm for the war. When Galicia was occupied, he sent there a number of minor officials to establish a civil government, and these men at once attempted to nationalize the Poles and Ruthenians by measures as severe as had been used in earlier years. The military commanders in the field were soon able to check this tendency and finally to eliminate it. But when the Grand Duke Nicholas, as a matter of good diplomacy, issued a manifesto promising the Poles national independence that he might gain the support of the Poles in German and Austrian Poland, the Premier utterly ignored this pledge.

Even reactionary elements in the nation disapproved Goremykin's course, and opposition manifested itself in the Duma in the formation of the "progressive bloc" composed of radicals, liberals and some conservatives. The progressive bloc eventually brought about the downfall of the aged Premier, but for more than a year the sinister elements at court were able to keep him in power, thus maintaining their own influence.

The administrative machinery of the government, as already stated, was poorly organized for supporting the large military forces

required on the fighting fronts. This was generally realized, for forthwith the people themselves put into action their utmost energies to remedy this economic defect. The Zemstvos—the local, self-governing bodies of villages and towns, communal councils which represented the full amount of self-government allowed the Russian people—came together in a National Union of Zemstvos, and through this organization engaged in very effective war work, in supplying hospital needs, clothing, and even food for the soldiers. Next there was created a "Federation of Municipalities," which engaged in similar activities. Vast sums of money were collected and representatives of the organization were sent abroad to purchase shoes, clothing and even luxuries for the soldiers at the front. Not least effective were the coöperative societies, both of consumers and of producers, which have since become such a powerful element in the economic life of the Russian people. The producers' societies, representing the peasants, kept the military authorities supplied with food products, while the consumers' societies, especially in the cities, where they were strongest, handled the problem of supplying the civil population with food and other necessities without the profits of the speculators. These organizations, revolutionary in tendency in an industrial sense, in that they would change the industrial system of the country to one with a collective basis, had been much opposed and hampered by the government, in spite of the services they were rendering. However, the municipal and provincial authorities, realizing the need for such agencies in distribution of foodstuffs, encouraged the consumers' societies. For example: in the city of Omsk, Siberia, the municipal authorities advanced large loans to the local coöperative society and commandeered store buildings for use as distributing centers.

Already in the early months of the war, prominent political leaders and persons of influence in the government of Russia were impressed by the reactionary tendencies on the part of the centralized authority. These elements were strongly represented in the Duma, which, in 1914, had been little more than the puppet of the governing clique. But in the summer of 1915, when the Russian armies were suffering serious reverses, the opposition to the government began to be active.

In August, 1915, a majority of the members of the previously quiescent Duma, drawn from all political parties, but, naturally, including especially the radical and progressive elements, drew up a

demand for a series of reforms, the chief feature of which was a Cabinet which should be directly responsible to the representatives of the people in the Duma. There was also a demand for the release of all political prisoners.

Goremykin, oblivious to the changed conditions, refused even to consider the program of the progressive bloc. He immediately hastened to the Czar, who was visiting the front, to get his signature to an order proroguing the Duma. There was an uprising of popular indignation, led by men whose loyalty to the autocracy had never before been questioned. The popular uproar was not unheeded by the "dark forces," but they were not prepared to cope with it. Rodzianko, President of the Duma, in a letter addressed to the Premier, expressed the popular sentiment.

"You are too old a man to deal adequately with the situation," wrote Rodzianko. "Confess your inefficiency—be man enough to step aside and let some younger man take your place."

Whether forced by public sentiment, or other considerations, the old Premier resigned. Boris Stürmer, who succeeded Goremykin, was certainly a man of stronger personality. But the capabilities which he undoubtedly possessed were not to be employed for the good of Russia.

Stürmer, an autocrat of German blood and of a German type of mind, had formerly been a provincial governor in Tver, where he earned a reputation as a black reactionary. He was consciously and almost openly in favor of a separate peace with Germany, showed open disregard for popular sentiment and was accused of sending representatives to Switzerland to open negotiations with the Germans.

During all this early period there hovered over the Russian court the sinister shadow of a figure which could only have found a proper setting in so mediæval an environment as the Russian scene. This was the monk Rasputin. No personality played a more important part in the silent disintegration of the Russian Empire than this illiterate, unkempt, unclean priest, Gregory Novikh, better known as Rasputin. By birth he was a Siberian and by parentage and rearing a common mujik. In his early adult life he became a fisherman. Though ignorant, he possessed certain unusual qualities. It was said that women could not withstand the magnetic fascination of his eyes, and that men also quailed before the stare of his deep-set orbs. While this is probably an exaggeration, it is evident

that he exerted a powerful influence over people far above him in rank and social station.

To afford a wider scope for his power, Rasputin became a religious fakir—as an itinerant priest. He gradually gained the reputation of possessing occult powers and so came to the attention of Madam Virubova, a lady-in-waiting to the Czarina, and eventually to that of the Czarina herself, over whom he gained a remarkable influence, probably due in considerable degree to the fact that he seemed to aid her son's health, which had always been feeble. Up to the outbreak of war, Rasputin had not ventured to exercise his power politically; but now he came to be known as one of the group termed the "dark forces," possibly its most important member. He is said to have brought about the appointment of Stürmer as Premier.

Once in power, Stürmer followed the policy of laying a path of peace toward Germany. The Allied governments were brought to a sudden realization of this when, early in 1916, he removed Sazonov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, from the Cabinet. Sazonov had been and was one of the strongest champions of the war and the alliance with England and France.

Another act which proved its significance later was the appointment of Alexander Protopopov as Minister of the Interior. Protopopov, destined to bring about the final dissolution of the Russian autocracy, had first become prominent as a member, then as a vice-president, of the Duma. In that early period of his career he was known as a man of progressive tendencies. In the summer of 1916, on returning from a visit to France and England, he met a representative of the German Government in Stockholm. The Duma immediately brought charges against him, but at the time Protopopov was able to explain his action plausibly.

The Duma convened on the date set, and there was witnessed such a scene as had never before been acted in Russia. One and all of the members of that formerly reactionary body denounced the government of Stürmer and Protopopov. The President, Rodzianko, a land owner with two sons in a crack regiment at the front, and Professor Paul Milyukov, leader of the Constitutional Democrats, vied with each other in fiery invective, directed against the Cabinet. It was Milyukov who created the sensation of the session, for he not only denounced Stürmer as a politician, but declared himself prepared to produce documentary proofs that Stürmer was a thief, an official as corrupt as he was reactionary. He declared specifically

that the Premier had received money from a group of financiers who were under indictment for corrupt practices, in return for which he agreed to have the indictment quashed.

Stürmer hastened to have the Duma dissolved, but the Czar, whose signature was needed, was away at the front. When Stürmer arrived, he was handed his own dismissal. His accusers were ahead of him, and at the front the Czar was surrounded by military leaders who had no part in the cabals at Petrograd. Meantime, two members of Stürmer's Cabinet, the Ministers of Marine and War, appeared before the Duma and declared themselves on the side of the representatives of the people and opposed to Stürmer and the "dark forces."

The next Premier was Alexander Trepov, also an autocrat. He played no important rôle. Henceforth it was Protopopov who steered the ship of state, fearlessly, but straight on the rocks. The opposition grew stronger day by day, gaining adherents within the circles of the Imperial family itself. All the important military leaders were with the Duma, even the Commander-in-Chief. The mother of the Czar tried to awaken him to a sense of danger. The Grand Duke Nicholas had addressed him in terms so strong that when he had concluded he remarked: "And now you may call in your guards and have them kill me and bury me in the garden."

On December 30, 1916, late at night, Rasputin, the central figure of the conspirators, was lured into the residence of Prince Yussupov, a cousin of the Czar by marriage, and there shot by a group of men, among whom were Grand Duke Dimitri Pavlovitch, an ex-Minister of the Interior, and Vladimir Purishkevitch, once a notorious leader of the "black hundreds," but now one of many former reactionaries who had come to see the necessity of purging the Government of traitors. Next morning the body of Rasputin was found in the river. His executioners did not try to hide their identities; full details and the names of all concerned were given to the newspapers and published. Not only their high rank and influence, but the growing strength of the opposition to the "dark forces" saved the slayers of Rasputin from prosecution.

The masses in Petrograd were starving, due to deliberate cutting off of supplies by the Minister of the Interior. Russia toppled on the edge of the abyss. Meanwhile striking workingmen organized the Soviet, or Council, of Workingmen's Deputies, an association which was to have tremendous importance later. On the same

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day, March 10, 1917, the Duma broke off relations with the Government and assumed the position of head of the Russian people. It has been claimed that Protopopov wanted general disorder which he could suppress with troops; but crowds of strikers walked the streets, chaffing good-humoredly with the military patrols, and even when police fired on people in the streets there was no general disorder. Protopopov called out the garrison and ordered the soldiers to attack the masses of people. But the soldiers organized a soviet and decided to go over to the side of the Duma. Their colonel refused to join and was shot, and the troops shouldered arms and marched over to the building where the Duma was in session, and placed themselves at the disposition of that body. They and the armed members of labor organizations attacked the police side by side.

Meantime the Duma sat almost inert with fear of the social cataclysm going on about it, lacking initiative to grasp the situation at the critical moment. Leaders of the organized workingmen, Socialists and Social Revolutionaries, rose to the occasion, and placed themselves at the head of the revolution which, only a few days before, they had opposed. During the night of March 11, the Soviet completed its organization. Next day it proclaimed the Revolution and raised the red flag of Socialism. Armed workingmen and many of the soldiers stormed the Arsenal and came into possession of arms and ammunition. They took forcible possession of the Peter and Paul Fortress, the Bastile of Petrograd, and of other public buildings. At the head of the Soviet forces rose the youthful figure of Alexander Kerensky, Social Revolutionary, a representative of his party in the Duma and a lawyer by profession. The Duma remained inert, allowing the revolutionary organization to assume control. When all was over and the red flag floated over all public buildings, the Duma elected a committee, in which Milyukov was the most prominent and energetic figure. The Radicals showed a disposition to coöperate with the Duma, and the two committees, one from the Soviet, the other from the Duma, worked together. But the dual character of the new Government was clearly marked and the seed of future discord sown.

The Provisional Government, consisting of the two committees, telegraphed the news of the Revolution all over Russia, and replies came in from all parts of the country indicating that the provinces accepted the new authority. Army headquarters accepted the situation and on all the fronts there was coöperation with the new

régime. The French and British ambassadors also hastened to assure the new leaders that their respective governments recognized them as the legitimate representatives of the Russian people.

From the moment of their formation until the 15th, the two committees had been in almost continuous joint session, planning the formation of a government and choosing a set of officials. In the afternoon of the 15th, the results were given out.

Prince George Lvov, president of one of the great social organizations which had so successfully carried on the war work behind the lines, the Union of Zemstovos, was Premier and Minister of the Interior, an aristocrat, but a man of broad, liberal views. Professor Milyukov, leader of the Constitutional Democrats, was Minister of Foreign Affairs. Alexander Kerensky, the Social Revolutionary, was Minister of Justice. The other members of the Cabinet were less prominent figures.

Nicholas II was at military headquarters. Here General Alexiev was in command, and from the beginning he gave the new Government his heartiest coöperation. To all telegrams and personal appeals on the part of the Commander-in-Chief, urging him to take definite action, the Czar made no intelligent response. The news came of the Czarina's arrest, and he set out on his return to Petrograd, while a telegram from the Provisional Government ordered the military officials to bring him there. He began to understand his position.

The temporary government first attempted to save the situation by having the Czar abdicate in favor of the Grand Duke Michael. The Czar actually abdicated on March 15, but by this time the Soviet had gained in popular support and demanded that the Romanoff dynasty be eliminated completely. Fearful of the Soviet's power, the Provisional Government promised that the people themselves would be allowed to determine the form of their future government.

PART VI

SOVIET RUSSIA. 1917-1928

Chapter XXI

THE SECOND REVOLUTION AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS. 1917-1928

FOR some weeks the two elements represented in the Provisional Government worked harmoniously together; one representing the radical and working class elements and socialism, the other representing the prosperous middle class and the liberal aristocracy and constitutional reform. Together they freed political prisoners, relegated the Church to the background out of politics, and, as far as possible, eliminated the most notorious institutions of the old autocracy.

But for the fact that Russia was in the midst of a war this comparative internal peace might have been continued and the transition from Czarism to popular rule might have been consummated without further violence. It was the war, however, that had made the revolution, and the stress of war was still upon the government and the people. Premier Lvov and his ministers were wholeheartedly committed to a continuance of the war. To the masses, on the other hand, the overthrow of the Czar and their victory over tyranny and oppression were more important than continuing the war. In large measure, the Russian masses had supported the war in the hope of winning their own freedom. Once that had been achieved, they thought first of preserving their victory.

The Soviet leaders knew that while the Provisional Government promised radical reforms it was not wholly sympathetic toward the revolutionary demands of the liberated masses. Despite the inclusion of Kerensky in the Cabinet, the government was dominated by conservatives. This had been shown in the attempt to perpetuate the old régime by putting the Grand Duke Michael in place of the Czar. Back of all the exultation over the attainment of freedom was the fear that old enemies might in some way return to power and crush the revolution. More than anything else, the revolutionaries feared the use of the Army against them.

At this time delegates to the Soviet were for prosecuting the war, but they demanded a modification of the iron discipline which

featured Russian army organization. Officers lost their authority and "committees" took their place. Demoralization began which could not afterward be checked.

The Provisional Government had the support of the officers of the Army, but the Soviet sought and secured effective control of the men in the ranks through committees formed in all branches of the military and naval service. Through these committees the Soviet issued orders which were to take precedence over those given by the higher military authorities and the central government. Soldiers' committees were given control over arms, and even salutes for officers, when off duty, were eliminated. In this and other ways, military discipline was practically destroyed and it was impossible to conduct operations in the field or to use the soldiers in maintaining order behind the lines.

Insistence on continuing the war without modification of Russia's engagements with the Allies was the factor that finally wrecked the Provisional Government. Secret treaties later published show that the Allies had recognized Russia's claim to Constantinople. Soviet leaders, while willing to have Russia continue the war, demanded that the Allies restate their war aims and that Russia renounce her claims to additional territory and indemnities. This demand was in keeping with the peace program of President Wilson, but the Allies and the Provisional Russian Government were not yet prepared to restate their war aims. The Soviet was promised that the Russian position would be restated, yet Foreign Minister Milyukov addressed a note to the Allies declaring that Russia's attitude was unchanged. This action created so much dissatisfaction that Milyukov was forced to resign, and brought about a reconstruction of the Provisional Government, with Tereshchenko as Foreign Minister and Kerensky as Minister of War, but with Lvov still as Premier. Enough radicals had been included to cause the Soviet to express willingness to recognize the Cabinet's authority.

In the middle of May, some of the most prominent of the old military commanders had resigned in protest. After the reorganization of the Cabinet and the apparent intention of the Soviet to continue the war, with the promise of aid from the new Cabinet in checking the tendency to undermine army discipline, the generals withdrew their resignations. Kerensky made a flying tour of the fronts attempting to restore enthusiasm by his oratory. Apparently he succeeded, for a sudden offensive was undertaken by the Russian armies

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in the first half of July, 1917. A brilliant beginning aroused high hopes in the Allies.

The offensive began in Galicia, under direction of General Kornilov, recently in command of the Petrograd garrison, a Cossack leader of high ability. The onsweeping Russians captured Halicz, and Dolina in the Carpathian foothills. Then, as Austrian resistance stiffened, the Russian drive crumpled. One after another the Russian regiments retired from the fighting line. It was a military strike. By July 21, after little more than two weeks' fighting, Kornilov was in full retreat.

A few days later the Germans advanced in the Riga sector of the front and captured the city. All elements were beginning to lose faith in the Provisional Government, and on September 9, General Kornilov raised the flag of revolt. The Kerensky faction put down this revolt, and Kornilov was interned.

Russia's collapse was now complete, and the revolution soon entered a new phase. During the period just ended, two men destined to leadership in one of the most remarkable developments in government ever known were working steadily toward their ends. Most notable was Vladimir Ilyitch Oulianov, who became known throughout the world and worshipped in Russia as Nikolai Lenin. Fully to comprehend the rôle played by Lenin in the Russian drama, would require profound study, not only of the political and economic history of Russia, but also of that of Europe for the half century preceding the World War, for he and his doctrine were not products of the Russian revolution. Lenin was born on April 10, 1870, at Simbirsk, and sprang from the hereditary nobility. His father, a "state counsellor," was superintendent of the public schools. His elder brother, Alexander, was a revolutionary and was hanged with four associates after an attempt to assassinate Czar Alexander III. Lenin went to the University of Kazan to study law, but soon became a revolutionist and a fervent apostle of Karl Marx. Marxism was not popular among Russian revolutionists, who had a philosophy and a program of their own. Herzen, Bakunin and other Russian Socialists believed that the *mir* under which peasants tilled land on a communal basis dominated, of course, by the government, provided the foundation for a socialistic system. In their view, all that was necessary was for the Slav masses to overthrow the government and take control of the land, after which they could establish a communistic state. This theory was violently opposed by Karl Marx,

who, contended that Russia must first pass through a process of industrial development, with capitalism fully operative, before it would be ready for socialism.

Marx subsequently modified his views, but the revolutionaries and socialists of Russia were sharply divided over theories and a program of action. Numerically, the Social Revolutionaries were much the stronger and represented the peasants, whose primary demand was for land reform. The Social-Democratic Labor Party, formed in 1898, had a moderate economic reform program. Lenin immediately took more radical ground and in 1903 the Social-Democrats split into two factions, Menshevists and Bolshevists, with Lenin as a leader of the latter group. The Bolshevists held a congress in London in 1905 and developed a program which Lenin and other leaders expanded and expounded for nearly ten years between the abortive revolution of 1905 and the outbreak of the war. Nikolai Lenin was in Austria when the European War broke out. Arrested, he was permitted to go to Switzerland, where he carried on a bitter campaign of propaganda against the great powers. It was he who planned in advance a program for the Third International, which was arranged for at the Zimmerwald convention in 1915. When the Russian Revolution broke, the Allies prevented his leaving Switzerland at first, and he shrewdly worked through the Germans for the means of return.

The Bolshevists regarded the war as an opportunity for the world revolution of which they dreamed. When Lenin was permitted to cross Germany in a sealed car and arrived in Russia in April, 1917, it was charged that he was an agent of the German government. Indeed, Germany gained immensely from the new conflict in Russia which terminated in the separate peace made with the Soviet régime; but Lenin was acting primarily in the interest of his own program. At first he was slow in gaining support in Petrograd, but by degrees he and his followers found ways of capitalizing the confusion. He quickly perceived that the real power was in the hands of the Soviet, dominated by Social Revolutionaries and Menshevists, and that the chief demand of the masses was for peace. His first rallying call was a demand for "Peace and Land."

In July, the Bolshevists made an unsuccessful effort to wrest control of the government from Kerensky. Although this move was a failure and led to counter moves against the radicals, it further demoralized the Government and the Army. Riga was surrendered

Herbert Photos, Inc.

MAY DAY, 1928, IN RED SQUARE, MOSCOW. THE TOMB OF LENIN IS AT THE UPPER RIGHT

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to the Germans early in September, and General Kornilov, encouraged by some of the Allied diplomats, who were demanding "a strong man" to save Russia, marched on Petrograd to establish a military dictatorship. Kerensky organized one government after another and finally created a directorate of five men and declared Russia a republic. A "Preliminary Parliament," to serve until the promised Constituent Assembly could be elected, met on October 20. This body had no real power. As everyone knew by now, the Soviets were destined to rule. Lenin had foreseen this and from his hiding place was working to secure Bolshevik control of the Soviets.

Next to Lenin in bringing about the amazing results of November, 1917, was Leon Trotsky (or Lev Davidovich Trotsky), whose name was originally Leiba Bronstein. He was born in the province of Kherson in 1877, educated at Odessa, and a Social Revolutionary. He had been presiding at the meeting of the original Soviet of Workers' Deputies at St. Petersburg in 1905 when that body was arrested. He had worked with Lenin abroad, and, during the war, having been expelled from one country after another, was in America at the time of the Russian revolution in March, 1917, but managed to accomplish a return. He did not join the extreme Left, or Bolshevik group, until July, 1917, and probably for this reason always met with suspicion and opposition from certain leaders of the Communist Party. But his name is irrevocably connected with that of Lenin in the founding and development of the Soviet Government.

Lenin and his adherents, though in hiding, had been carrying on widespread propaganda. About October 25, 1917, Lenin came out openly, with his demand for peace and distribution of the land, thus gaining support from soldiers and peasants. The All-Russia Congress of Soviets was to meet in Petrograd on November 7, 1917, and Lenin was ready with his program for seizing power. He was behind the scenes directing all the moves that led to this coup, finally opening headquarters in Smolny Institute, so that the last preparations for taking over the government by the Soviets were made without concealment, over the telephone. There was little surprise and practically no violence in Petrograd, the Petrograd garrison espousing the Bolshevik cause. Kerensky had made a final effort to suppress the Communist newspapers, and the Preliminary Parliament made a futile effort to save the situation by asking the Allies to start peace negotiations and by resolving to turn the

land over to the peasants. But soldiers, sailors and workers, representing the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, took over the government buildings and appeared at the Congress of Soviets. The representatives of the moderate elements in the Congress walked out and the Kerensky government was declared overthrown. Some members of the government took refuge in the Winter Palace and were captured there. Kerensky escaped in disguise and joined General Krasnov, who made a feeble attempt to put down the revolt, but was himself captured and paroled.

The All-Russia Congress of Soviets elected a Council of People's Commissars, over which Lenin was to preside. Trotsky, who was a most effective orator and a man of remarkable capacity, was named Commissar for Foreign Affairs. Among the first acts of the new régime was the declaration that all land belonged to the people; another was an invitation sent out by Trotsky to the German and Allied governments calling for an armistice at once. Germany alone agreed. Meantime, the Russian military forces had been completely disrupted. The soldiers, most of whom were peasants, had deserted the front in large numbers, hurrying home to take part in the scramble for land.

Events came in rapid succession. The Ukraine declared herself an independent republic; Finland proclaimed her independence; the Cossacks retired to their own country in southern Russia, and, under the leadership of the Cossack general, Kaledin, declared independence.

The Constituent Assembly elected in November had its first meetings in December, but they were broken up by Bolshevists and many members arrested. The struggle to hold such an Assembly was renewed in January, but the meetings were again suppressed.

Trotsky, as Minister of Foreign Relations, had asked the Allies to participate in general peace negotiations, but to this note the Allied powers made no response, and the Bolsheviki, therefore, immediately began separate negotiations with the Central Powers for peace. The armistice went into effect on December 17, 1917. General Dukonin, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian armies, having refused to proclaim the armistice, was displaced by Ensign Krylenko on November 21. Dukonin was subsequently murdered by enraged soldiers, who threw him off a fast-moving train.

The Peace Conference with the Central Powers opened on December 22, 1917. Among the delegates of the Central Powers were

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Richard von Kuhlmann, German Foreign Minister, and General Hoffman; Count Czernin, representing Hungary; Kopov, representing Bulgaria; Nesimi Bey, representing Turkey. A large Russian delegation represented the new Bolshevist government. The negotiations took place at Brest-Litovsk, German military headquarters.

The Germans demanded "independence" of the Baltic provinces under conditions that would result in annexation to Germany. German military authorities would supervise the referendum in which people would vote as to status. The Russian delegates, headed by Trotsky, refused to agree, and the Soviet Government upheld them. This was on January 17—on the 29th, Trotsky rejected the Teuton terms. The Ukraine Republic had made a separate peace.

At the expiration of the armistice, February 16, the German forces advanced. Then the Russian delegates returned to Brest-Litovsk and signed the treaty, now somewhat harsher in terms. On March 14, 1918, this treaty was ratified by the All-Russia Soviet. By its terms Russia would lose nearly one-fourth of her European possessions and a third of her total population. Trotsky forthwith resigned as Foreign Minister, and was succeeded in this office by Tchitcherin. German hostilities did not entirely cease, for the Ukraine was occupied by German troops and military operations continued along the northern part of the front. Trotsky became Commissar for War, and his development of the Red Army was carried on brilliantly.

Ratification of the German peace caused even the radical Social Revolutionaries to leave the Government, which now became wholly Bolshevik. The Communists were still a small group, and Russia as a whole was far from being converted to Bolshevism, but the peasants had taken over the land and were not greatly concerned by what was happening in Petrograd and Moscow. Soviet power came from the workers in the larger centers, and Lenin consolidated his gains by proclaiming a "dictatorship of the proletariat." Having gained a "breathing space" through the separate peace with Germany, the Bolsheviki began the process of destroying every vestige of Czarism and middle-class institutions and customs. They took over all industry, tried to abolish private barter, separated Church and State, and sanctioned the dispossessing of owners of property generally. Communism was readily imposed on the cities, but it was useless to seize palaces and factories and to abolish trade when the

factories lacked raw materials and the cities lacked food. Attempts at requisitioning food from the peasants caused a counter-revolution in the summer of 1918. This revolt was led by the Social Revolutionaries, aided by the bourgeoisie and the more daring members of the upper classes. Acts of violence occurred on both sides. After the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, Germany had sent an ambassador to Moscow (whither the Soviet Government had removed when Petrograd was threatened). On July 6, 1918, this ambassador, General Count von Mirbach, was assassinated by Social Revolutionaries, and the Soviet Government took strong measures in reprisal.

Counter revolution was widespread, and opposition to the new régime reached a formidable stage. The Czar and his family had been removed to Ekaterinburg, where their imprisonment was strict. The occasion of an advance in this direction by Kolchak's troops was a pretext for putting all the group to death, their bodies being afterward burned. This execution, or assassination, took place on July 16, 1918.

Allied intervention also stimulated counter-revolution. Fearing for their supplies in the north, that they might fall into German hands, Allied troops under British command were stationed near Murmansk and Archangel. Other forces came to the aid of the Czechoslovaks in Siberia. These were prisoners of war who had surrendered to the Russians in the hope of joining the Allies and who had been formed into fighting forces. Also in the Caucasus and the Crimea the Allies gave financial and military support to expeditions formed with the hope of overthrowing the Bolsheviki. The story of these enterprises is on the whole a record of costly failures.

In Moscow, the counter revolution reached a climax when Dora Kaplan, a Social Revolutionary, shot Lenin as he was leaving a workers' meeting on August 30. He narrowly escaped death and his wound is said to have hastened his end. The shooting of Lenin and the rising tide of reaction gave the Bolsheviki a grave fright and caused the expansion of the Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution. This force, known as the Cheka, and headed by Felix Edmundovick Dzerzhinsky, began a systematic campaign to rid the country of every enemy of Bolshevism. The Red Terror, as it was called, lasted for many months and left an appalling record. Almost as violent was the so-called White

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Terror, instituted in some places by the opponents of the Reds.

The masses of the people might not approve of Bolshevism, but they evidently preferred it to the rule of any of the reactionary factions able to take the field against it, preferred it to foreign intervention or to any possibility of the restoration of Czarism. Thus the approach of Kolchak's armies to Moscow and of those of Yudenich to Petrograd actually strengthened the Soviet Government by the numbers that flocked to the defense. Both these leaders were forced to retreat in October, 1919, and their story was that of other opponents to the Government.

After the ending of the World War, intervention was gradually abandoned, although France gave recognition to Wrangel, in the Crimea, and backed Poland in a war against Russia in 1920. The Polish attack provided the Bolsheviks with a rallying cry and brought such leaders as Brusilov over to the Government. The Poles were badly defeated in the beginning of their campaign, and the Red Armies, becoming overconfident, set out to conquer Poland. General Weygand, sent by France for the purpose, organized the Polish forces and drove the Russians back. Peace was finally established with the defeat of Wrangel in the Crimea.

Meanwhile, Lenin had been forced to modify his Communistic program, and in August, 1921, promulgated the New Economic Policy—known as the NEP—restoring freedom of buying and selling. As a result of this policy, something like a workable economic system was established, but in 1921-1922 a great famine swept over Russia, due to widespread drought and the unwillingness of peasants to plant food crops in excess of their own needs. Speculation by "Nepmen" brought drastic measures. Definite reconstruction began in 1923, when the Soviet Government put its currency on a gold basis, revived industry and commerce and began to win back and weld together into a Federation of Soviet Republics various parts of the old Russian Empire. American relief did much to alleviate distress during the famine.

The "Far Eastern Republic" represented attempts to establish a buffer state against the Soviet Government. Its capital was Chita. It never served the purpose expected by Japan and other countries but favored the Russian Soviet Government and finally, in December, 1922, became part of Soviet Russia, which had now regained the former eastern boundary.

In spite of its strange position among the nations of the world,

which is that of a government widely different from the others and openly proclaiming its desire for a world revolution, and in spite of the inexperience of its officials in the art of government, Russia has shown great skill in regaining former boundaries and in making friends of bordering nations. On the west, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Finland are independent, but if they serve as buffer states for western Europe, they also enable the U. S. S. R. to develop its political concepts without too much interference from the other Great Powers. The Transcaucasian states of Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia have rejoined Russia. Rumania still has Bessarabia, but the losses of land and population to the west must be considered for the present as lessening Russia's political and military problems.

Lenin died on January 21, 1924, leaving the Soviet régime firmly established. Opposition from the non-communistic factions had been sternly suppressed, but a marked divergence soon appeared within the ranks of the Communist Party itself. Stalin had become the strong man of the small governing group. Opposed to him were Trotsky and other leaders who charged the administration with defeating the Marxist program by compromising with the demands of the bourgeois masses. The new Government on the death of Lenin included Alexis Rykov as President of the Union Council of People's Commissaries, with Kamanev as a Vice-President, Tchitcherin as Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Trotsky, whose influence was now much disputed, still Minister of War. He was greeted with enthusiasm, however, in the Third International Congress of the year. In the latter part of the year, he was attacked by Stalin, Kamenev and Zinoviev for his policies and writings, removed from the ministry and replaced by Frounze. The close of the year was marked by certain changes in attitude toward private property as indicated in Rykov's speeches. In March, 1925, he enlarged on this in addressing the Central Executive Committee, particularly with regard to the peasants.

In 1925, Russia and Japan signed (January 21) a treaty in which Japan recognized the Soviet Government, and the two nations decided to review all treaties between them except the Treaty of Portsmouth, which was recognized, planned future discussions on debts, commerce and navigation and agreed to refrain from propaganda against each other. In April of the same year, Japan withdrew her troops from northern Sakhalin, according to agreement.

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She had been given concessions for the exploitation of oil and coal.

The total land area of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U. S. S. R.) is, according to figures published in 1927, 8,241,910 square miles, and the population 147,013,609. It has six constituent republics—Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (R. S. F. S. R., which is Russia Proper), with 7,626,717 square miles and a population of 100,857,985; White Russian Soviet Socialist Republic with 48,751 square miles and a population of 4,135,327; Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, with 174,201 square miles and 29,020,304 people; Transcaucasian Socialist Soviet Republic (Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan), with 71,255 square miles and a population of 5,850,692; Turcoman Soviet Socialist Republic, with 189,603 square miles and a population of 1,030,549; and Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, with 131,394 square miles and 5,270,195 people.

The soviets are councils made up according to occupations. Aside from this new basis for legislative and governing bodies, some features of the new Russia remind one of the organization of the United States. The supreme legislative body of the U. S. S. R. is the All-Russian (or Union) Congress of Soviets. It elects annually the members of the Union Central Executive Committee, which acts between Congresses as not only the administrative, but also the legislative and the judicial authority of the nation and meets every three months for a two weeks' session. This Executive Committee is made up of two parts—the Union Council, elected according to the proportional representation system, and the Council of Nationalities, with five members for each independent republic and one for each autonomous region. For transacting current business a Standing Committee, or Præsidium, is elected, with nine members from the Union Council, nine from the Council of Nationalities and nine elected at a joint meeting.

The Cabinet is called the Union Council of People's Commissars, and is made up of a President, several Vice Presidents and the various heads of departments. They are responsible to the Præsidium, the Central Executive Committee and the Union Congress of Soviets. The Communist Party is actually the controlling force in the government of Russia, and continued hostility to the Soviet régime on the part of other nations was due in no small measure to the close alliance between the Soviet Government and the Third International, which openly attempts to foment revolution throughout the world.

A permanent judicial system was established on January 1, 1923. Civil, Criminal, Land and Labor codes were adopted in 1922. A Constitution was adopted in 1918. Four republics concluded a Treaty of Union in 1922 and Uzbek and Turcoman were made up in 1924. Each constituent republic has a government modeled on that of the Union, but differing in the departments according to the special duties assigned to the Union and to the Republics. The larger part of the country is in the first of the republics, R. S. F. S. R. The Constitution of the Union was ratified in 1924. A new Code of Civil Status, defining marriage, family and guardianship rights, came into effect on January 1, 1927.

At the close of the year 1925, Stalin, Kamenev and Zinoviev were sometimes spoken of as the "triumvirate" from the power they wielded after the death of Lenin. Rykov was President of the Union Council of People's Commissaries and also Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries in the R. S. F. S. R. Kamenev and Zinoviev were both pushed aside by Stalin in 1926, leaving Stalin and Rykov, with the new head of the Supreme Economic Council, Kubyshev, as the most powerful leaders.

The year 1927 saw serious diplomatic difficulties between Russia and Britain, and relations were severed. (The British had recognized the Soviet Government in February, 1924.) There was complaint in England of Soviet propaganda and the complaint was emphasized when the Soviet offices in London were raided, ostensibly in a search for stolen documents. The Soviet Government protested strongly, but was anxious to continue trade relations.

Near the close of 1927, the efforts of Stalin and his supporters to crush the opposition of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek and others came to a crisis with the expulsion of these men and others of the Opposition from the Communist Party, a measure which was modified somewhat to permit a certain affiliation with the Party but to prevent the holding of office. The expelled communists begged for reinstatement, but were actually exiled in 1928, from Moscow to different parts of the country.

In the Far East, Russia had a most important interest in Manchuria, for she had constructed the Chinese Eastern Railway, which crosses Manchuria and gives her best outlet to the Pacific besides access to ice-free ports. By the Treaty of Portsmouth, Japan controls the southern part. Manchuria is, therefore, a region in which these two countries find it necessary to deal with China for the neces-

1928

sary control of transportation. The Soviet Governments were naturally not in favor with the Peking Government, but made efforts to influence the Nationalists, who finally declared against them. With the success of the Nationalists, the important questions of the transportation rights with which Japan and China are also concerned await such reorganization as may take place in China.

It had been apparently wisely predicted that the New Economic Policy of Lenin would be further extended and that Russia would gradually come back to a policy in such matters more nearly resembling that of other countries, but the year 1928, after the victory of Stalin and his sympathizers, showed a decided trend toward the left, State Planning Commission (Gosplan) announcing that it was hoped that private business might be eliminated by 1930.

One of the difficulties of 1927-1928 was that of collecting surplus crops from the peasants for distribution in the cities and for export. This was partly due to the natural attitude of the peasants, and partly to the impossibility of thoroughly distributing manufactured products in the rural districts in return and the high prices of such products in proportion to the food products for which they would be exchanged. In the summer of 1928, the Government was showing a determination to take steps toward the elimination of the Kulaks, or wealthy peasantry, and toward organizing the means of collection and distribution on a huge scale.

HISTORY OF POLAND

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HISTORY OF POLAND

TOWARD the close of the eighteenth century the kingdom of Poland disappeared from the map of Europe, having been absorbed in three partitions by the great powers of Prussia, Russia, and Austria. The effect of the partitions was to make the Poles, from their own point of view at least, prisoners in their own homes and on their own estates. But although deprived of national independence, their national history has kept on its course. Distributed among the three partitioning powers, the Poles are still a nation, and the revival of their political independdence has been, and is now, one of the disturbing questions of eastern Europe.

The history of Poland has usually for its objective point some explanation of the misfortunes of the Poles. The liberal school of the last century, indoctrinated with the theory of nationalist rights, charges the fall of Poland directly to the three partitioning powers, who, they assert, conspired criminally to rob a weak nation of its independence. There is, it must be admitted, much in this view, especially when the question is taken out of its historical perspective, for the motives of the three partitioning powers would probably not bear the closest inspection. To the political cynicism of the eighteenth century the thing, of course, appeared in a very different light. Judging impartially, it can be seen that the question falls within the category of cases in which the application of a purely ethical standard to an act of alleged political necessity raises an issue which admits of no compromise. It is not the intention here to take either one side or the other, but to offer in narrative form, and within a much limited space, a rapid survey of the course of Polish history.

The history of Poland is associated with the flat country lying to the east of the River Oder, and watered for the most part by the Vistula and its tributaries. Exactly as in the case of early Russia the region has no natural frontiers, save for the Carpathians in the southwest. Originally a group of separate tribal communities

occupied portions of the two river basins. Between the mouths of the Oder and the Vistula the coast line was held by the Pomeranians. On the east bank of the Vistula, in its middle course, were the Mazovians, held back from the coast by the Prussians. The upper course of the Vistula was settled by the Chrobates, whose center was the town of Cracow, not far from the frontier of Hungary. The upper course of the Oder belonged to the Silesians, who touched upon Bohemia. South of the Pomeranians, and lying between the Silesians on the west, the Mazovians on the east, and the Chrobates on the south, were the Poles proper, with their chief town of Gnesen on the Warthe. As distinct from all of these, it may be well to note at this point the Lithuanians, occupying the district between the Niemen and the Dwina, and lying quite to the northeast of the Vistula valley.

From the earliest accounts of the political condition of the Vistula valley, it would seem that the Poles proper had succeeded in acquiring a hegemony over their immediate neighbors. The foundations of Poland as a state are usually attributed to one Boleslav the Brave (992-1025). His predecessor, Mieczyslav (960-992), had embraced Christianity at the intercession, it is said, of his wife, the daughter of the Roman Catholic duke of the Bohemians. As distinguished from the Russians on the Dnieper, the Poles through the conversion of Mieczyslav united with the Roman communion, and their civilization developed along the lines followed by Western Christendom, in contrast to the Byzantine influence which shaped the civilization of the Russians in the Dnieper valley. Thus two rival creeds of the Christian faith separated the Slavic peoples of eastern Europe, and from this fact consequences of great political moment have ensued.

Boleslav, the political founder of Poland, acquired the title of Brave from a long series of campaigns. On the one hand he resisted successfully the attacks of the Germans from the west, who sought in their early career of expansion to bring the Slavs of eastern Europe under their sway. From the very beginning of Polish history, the fear of German encroachment is thus one of the difficulties with which the Poles have to deal. On the other hand, toward the east Boleslav took the rôle of aggressor, and led his army against the Russians to the very banks of the Vistula. In these two aspects, resistance to the Germans and encroachment upon the Russians, Boleslav foreshadowed what may be called the

foreign policy of Poland for some centuries to come. Toward his immediate neighbors he was also aggressive, wresting from the Chrobates the western part of their territory, and from Bohemia the district of Moravia. Under his rule, Poland was divided into bishoprics, monasteries were founded, and the army organized. With the sanction of the Pope, Boleslav caused himself to be crowned king in 1024, and Poland enjoyed for a time the dignity of being a kingdom.

As king, Boleslav's authority was largely personal; the country as yet scarcely accepted the kingship as an institution. Political development took the line of local privileges which were gradually acquired by an aristocracy of nobles and prelates. Against these the kingship, as an institution, had to contend, and the struggles between the two form the central point of Polish constitutional history.

With the death of Boleslav the kingdom which he had founded fell into a state of anarchy and chaos. Poland was deprived of its dignity as a kingdom, owing to the murder of the bishop of Cracow by Boleslav the Rash. The vicious custom of providing appanages for all the children of the royal family, made a central power almost impossible. Internal strife is all the chroniclers have to record of this period, with here and there a strong character to relieve the gloom. Nobles and clergy alike seemed indifferent to the better interests of the state. Boleslav the Wry-mouthed (1102-1139) succeeded in subduing the heathen Pomeranians and in forcing them to embrace Christianity, but he had to appeal to the Germans for priests and missionaries to carry on the work of Christian instruction, and so lost the opportunity of extending Polish influence to the Baltic. A similar mistake in playing into the hands of the Germans appears in allowing the conversion of the heathen Prussians to be undertaken by the Teutonic Knights. This latter organization the Duke of Mazovia invited to settle on his frontier in 1220. Thus in the region of the Lower Vistula German influence began to spread, and German colonies like Thorn and Marienwerder showed that the mouth of the river and the immediate Baltic coast were slipping from the hands of the Poles. About the same time the Silesians began to show decided traces of German influence, and before long inclined to a German rather than to a Polish connection. Silesia later became part of Bohemia.

Yet despite the unorganized condition of the kingdom, the

Poles during this period of political anarchy rendered a signal service to Europe. The Tatar invasion had already deprived Russia of independence. In 1241 the Mongol horde threw itself on Western Europe and Poland had to sustain the shock. The Tatars burned Sandomir, Cracow, and Breslau, and engaged the Poles in the battle of Liegnitz. The stout resistance of the Poles saved the valleys of the Elbe and the Rhine from the experience of a Mongol invasion.

This period of anarchy is marked internally by the consolidation of the authority of the nobles in local government. The privileges of the aristocracy, as a class, were gradually taking on a definite shape and assuming the high prerogatives which eventually made of the kingdom a monarchy in theory only, in reality an aristocratic republic. (Curiously enough, the official title of the state was that of the Republic of Poland, *Respublicæ Poloniæ.*) The possession of land was the prerequisite of noble standing, together with the adoption of a coat of arms. Commerce was shunned as degrading, consequently trade fell into the hands of the German colonists, who flocked to the towns. The bourgeois class was thus in its origin foreign, and it never obtained political rights, being jealously excluded from all share in the government.

With the fourteenth century, the danger from German encroachment seems to have shown the Poles the need of some form of central authority. The Teutonic Knights, originally called to Christianize the heathen Prussians, were tightening their hold on the Lower Vistula. The Poles made an effort to save Pomerania from their hands and thus precipitated a struggle which must have been long foreseen as inevitable. The Poles found allies in the Lithuanians, the Knights joined with Bohemia, and Poland fared badly in the conflict. The struggle was abandoned with the accession of Casimir, whose reign calls for particular mention.

Casimir (1333-1370) gave up the contest with the allies. To the Bohemians he abandoned Silesia, and to the Knights, Pomerania. He sought compensation, however, to the east, by taking advantage of the unfortunate condition of the Russians, owing to the Tatar yoke. He led the Polish army as far as the Bug in western Russia, and secured a foothold in the valley of that river, hoping eventually to bring it under direct Polish influence. In this respect he was following in the footsteps of his illustrious ancestor, Boleslav the Brave, but like him also, he was adding one

"ALL IS QUIET AT WARSAW"
Painting by Wojciech Kossak

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more to the list of aggressions on Russian soil, for which the Russians, in the days of their strength, were to make more than an adequate reprisal.

Casimir rendered invaluable service to Polish civilization in the founding of the University of Cracow, celebrated for its collection of manuscripts. The Poles were particularly proud of their knowledge of Latin, cultivated assiduously by the nobles as well as the clergy. The Polish nobles were possibly the best educated of their class in Europe. Chiefly for personal reasons Casimir was able to exact from them military duties, which placed the army on a serviceable footing, but the nobles in turn watched with jealousy any signs of the development of an effective monarchy.

Casimir died leaving no issue. With his death the direct line of the old Polish national kings came to an end. The succession to the throne presented many difficulties, and its settlement opens up a new chapter in Polish history. According to the wish of Casimir, a successor was found in Prince Louis of Hungary, whose doubtful hold upon the nobility was maintained for twelve years. For four years after his death the throne remained vacant. In 1386 it was bestowed on Hedwiga, a daughter of Louis. Much against her own personal inclination, yet at the entreaty of the nobles, Hedwiga was married to Jagiello, prince of the state of Lithuania.

In order to understand the political meaning of this important state marriage, it is necessary to refer very briefly to the country which was now joined with Poland in a dynastic union. Not very much is known about the origin of the Lithuanians. Geographically, their situation lay between the Poles and the Russians. Like the Prussians, with whom they were for the most part in contact, the Lithuanians were heathen, and hence a suitable prey to the designs of the Teutonic Knights, who had already colonized the Prussians. But unlike the Prussians, the Lithuanians had developed a military power of considerable strength, and under a line of ambitious princes, had founded a state of no small extent. The principalities of Old Russia, particularly those in the valley of the Dnieper, under the combined influence of the Tatar invasion and the shifting of the Russian population to the Upper Volga, offered little resistance to Lithuanian expansion. Lithuania grew at the expense of the Russians, and came to occupy a large expanse of land directly between the Vistula and the Upper Volga. It was

the prince of this hastily conquered territory whom the Polish nobles sought as a husband for the Princess Hedwiga.

The union was of immediate advantage to Poland in that it brought much needed military assistance in the struggle with the Knights. But it entailed upon Poland the future long and fatal struggle with the rising power of Russia. For, by the terms of the marriage alliance, Jagiello yielded to the demands of the Polish nobles and embraced the Roman Catholic faith, engaging at the same time to bring Lithuania within the Roman communion. As far as this engagement involved the Lithuanians proper, it presented no difficulty. But, as mentioned above, Lithuania consisted largely of territory conquered from the Russians, and containing a population which for centuries had belonged to the Greek Church. The position of these unfortunate people as subjects of a heathen prince was now changed for the worse. In point of religion they had to submit to the proselytising of the Polish clergy: while under the rigorous system of Polish landlordism they were forced to endure the yet worse yoke of Jewish overseers and publicans. This oppression of the Russian Christians met its retribution when Russia became a great power. Behind Warsaw of the nineteenth century lies Kiev of the fifteenth; the tables indeed have been turned.

Jagiello received the throne of Poland only after accepting baptism. He took the Christian name of Vladislav. As yet the union between the two countries was merely dynastic, but the fruits were soon evident in the determined stand which both Poles and Lithuanians made against the Knights. The latter found their military prestige shaken in the defeat at Tannenberg (1410). By the Treaty of Thorn (1466) the relations with the Knights were put on a definite basis. In accordance with the terms of this agreement, West Prussia, that is, the portion of Prussia lying to the west of the Vistula, was surrendered by the Knights and annexed to Poland. East Prussia, to the east of the Vistula, the Knights agreed to hold as a fief from the Polish king. Thus for a time the encroachment of the Germans was thwarted. It was not until the rise of Brandenburg that danger from this quarter became imminent.

Poland and Lithuania were at their height during the Jagiello dynasty. The dynastic union which kept the two together gradually turned into an administrative unity. The relations between the two

1413-1572

were arranged tentatively at the diet of Hrodlo in 1413. It was here agreed that affairs common to the two states should be decided by a dual diet, while neither state should accept a separate ruler without the consent of the other. This loose dual monarchy was strengthened in 1569 at the diet of Lublin, where the system of separate rulers of the same family was abandoned in favor of a single monarch, though each state kept its separate administrative officers. From 1386 to 1572, the system had alternated. Jagiello remained in Poland, leaving the government of Lithuania to his kinsman, Vitovt. At the death of Jagiello the Polish throne went to his eldest son, Vladislav (1434-1444); the grand-duchy of Lithuania to his younger son, Casimir. At the death of Vladislav at Varna, in an unsuccessful expedition against the advancing Turks, Casimir held both states as Casimir IV. (1447-1492). At his death, his son, John Albert, was elected for Poland, and a fourth son, Alexander, for Lithuania. But Alexander succeeded to both countries in 1501, and reigned till 1506. Alexander was followed by his youngest brother, Sigismund I. (1506-1548), and he, in turn, by Sigismund II., the last of the dynasty (1548-1572), during whose reign the diet of Lublin placed the union definitively under a single king, who was henceforth to be elected by the common diet.

Under the Jagiellos the constitution of Poland exhibited the same tendencies that have been mentioned above. The aristocracy absorbed all political power, only tolerating the monarchy from necessity. The nobles were grouped into two classes, the greater and the lesser (*schlachta*). For a time, under Casimir, it seemed possible that the monarchy might strengthen itself by championing the lesser nobles against the greater, and thus dividing the strength of their opposition. Casimir increased the privileges of the lesser nobles, but instead of supporting the throne, they sided with the rest of their order, and from the new privileges they had acquired added to rather than lessened the opposition to the king. The peasant class on the one hand, and the burghers on the other, were equally without recognition to any political rights.

The organs of this aristocratic republic consisted of a diet of two houses; the senate, composed of the great landowners, and the chamber of nuncios, comprising the inferior nobles. The seven great officers of state for both Poland and Lithuania were in the king's appointment, but the tenure was for life, thus reducing the royal prerogative within the very narrowest limits. No new law

could be enacted without the unanimous consent of both chambers of the diet, the single adverse vote of a single member being sufficient to defeat any measure (*liberum veto*). The inconvenience of this strange system was perhaps more theoretical than actual. The instances of its exercise were not many, and there were always means of an extra-constitutional kind, it must be admitted, by which obstreperous nuncios could be brought to terms. Strangely enough, the Poles, instead of apologizing for the anomalous right of the liberum veto, gloried in it, and looked upon it as the safeguard of their liberties, the protection of the minority against the "tyranny of the majority." But although the minority sheltered itself in the diet behind their right of absolute veto, custom sanctioned a method of coercion by which the majority could effect their will. This was known as the right of confederation, an institution in itself quite as anomalous as the liberum veto. The right of confederation gave to any group of nobles the privilege of forcing their opponents to agree to a measure after a test of military strength. This right held as against the king or any other constituted authority, and suggests the feudal custom of wager of battle. Ordinarily, it would seem, the appearance of armed force brought the minority to terms, so that recourse to actual hostilities was not necessary. In the face of such legalized rebellion, the situation of the king was hopeless.

Such a system, both in politics and in society, made for a brilliant individualism, to the sacrifice of the more homely virtues that make for law, order, and stable government. The typical Polish noble (*pan*) of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was usually a well-read, highly cultured gentleman, with a fondness for travel, learning, and the arts in very favorable contrast to others of his class in France or Germany.

On the religious side, the Jagiellos had to deal with the question of the Reformation. Traces of Hussite influence from Bohemia appeared in the early fifteenth century, but the Catholic clergy successfully combated the heresy. The antagonism between the two likewise prevented the Poles from receiving overtures from the Bohemian Czechs, looking toward a political union of these two branches of the Slavic race. In 1525 Albert of Brandenburg accepted the Reformed doctrine. His position as grand-master of the Teutonic Knights made the situation for Poland serious. The duchy of East Prussia, held by the Knights in fee from Poland,

was declared secularized, and in 1569 the right of hereditary succession recognized in the family of the Elector of Brandenburg. It was only a question of time when the elector would convert his fief into absolute possession and thus give to a German ruler the mouth of the Vistula.

Not very much is known about the progress of the Reform movement in Poland proper. It seems to have made its influence felt in the time of Sigismund II., the last of the Jagiellos. Many of the nobles accepted the new faith. But the successful propaganda of the Jesuits, introduced in 1562, and the efforts of the secular clergy kept the movement within bounds. In the course of half a century its failure was evident.

Of more interest, perhaps, was the attempt of the Polish Church to find some middle ground by which the orthodox population of Lithuania could be included within the Roman communion, without sacrificing too much of their own doctrine and ritual. The result was the Uniate communion—unsatisfactory to both sides. The religious intolerance of the Poles and Jesuits in Lithuania alienated the subject population. The more independent Cossacks it drove later into the hands of the orthodox tsars, thus depriving Poland not only of the Cossack country, but also of the best fighting material upon which the Poles could rely.

At the time when the Jagiello dynasty came to an end, no one could have foreseen the unfortunate part which Poland in the next two centuries would have to play in the general politics of Europe. There was no reason to suppose that the country would not rank with the other great powers. In point of territory Poland was a very large state. The Polish lands stretched from the Baltic almost to the Black Sea. Wealth and population were not lacking. But decentralized as Poland was, and lacking a merchant aristocracy with trading interests at stake, it gradually fell behind the other powers. In the long series of wars for the supremacy of the Baltic, Poland played but a sorry part, and when the Treaty of Nystad in 1721 brought the conflict to a close much of her territory had already passed into the hands of her hostile neighbors. Surrounded now by the three great military states of Prussia, Russia, and Austria, her position in the eighteenth century passed from bad to worse, until at last she fell a victim to the principle of the balance of power.

With the death of Sigismund II., the last of the Jagiellos, the

crown went by election to a foreign prince, Henry of Valois, afterward king of France. The Poles made the offer of the crown conditional upon the acceptance of the famous Pacta Conventa, a series of articles expressly limiting the royal authority, and confirming the privileges of the nobles. Henry reluctantly accepted these conditions and became king. But accustomed to the prerogatives of royalty in France, he found his position as king of Poland very irksome. His reign was brief. Hearing of the death of his brother, he fled from Warsaw and became king of France as Henry III. Disappointed in this first venture to have a foreign king, the Poles next elected the Voievode of Transylvania, Stephen Bathory, remembered chiefly for his military successes against the Russians. The Poles next turned to Sweden for a king, and called to the throne Sigismund Vasa, who, through his mother, was a grandson of Sigismund I. (Jagiello). His reign (1587-1632) was contemporaneous with the first half of the Thirty Years' War, during the course of which Livonia was lost to Gustavus Adolphus.

Sigismund was followed by his son, Vladislav VII. (1632-1648), and by John Casimir (1648-1688). Under the latter Poland experienced a sensible decline. In 1653 the Cossacks broke into rebellion and transferred their allegiance to the tsar. In 1653, Casimir consented to yield to the Elector of Brandenburg, in return for the latter's support against Charles X. of Sweden, the duchy of East Prussia, in full sovereign right. As the territory of the electorate and the duchy were some distance apart, it became the settled policy of the electors to acquire the intervening lands in order to have a compact state. This, of course, would mean the further dismemberment of Poland. In 1667, by the Truce of Andrussovo, Casimir surrendered to Russia the east bank of the Lower Dnieper, and Kiev, the "Mother of Russian Cities," passed again into Russian hands after an occupation of some four centuries by the Poles.

A reaction confined the choice of a successor this time to a Pole, but in the person of Michael Wisniowiecki (1669-1673), the nation found itself with a half-witted monarch. He was followed by John Sobieski, in many respects a national hero (1674-1696), remembered chiefly for his chivalrous and brilliant rescue of Vienna from the hands of the Turks in 1683. The Poles next sought a sovereign from the electorate of Saxony. It was during the reign of the first Saxon king that Peter the Great came upon the stage

of European politics, and the fortunes of Poland from now on are treated by Professor Morfill in the history of Russia, which forms the bulk of this volume. The conclusion of this chapter is intended merely as a recapitulation of the narrative already presented.

Augustus II. of Saxony held the throne (1697-1733) at intervals during the stormy period of the Northern War, in which the rivalry between Sweden and Russia ended in the definite ascendancy of the latter. Both powers interfered at will in the affairs of Poland. In 1706 Charles XII. of Sweden entered Saxony and forced Augustus to abdicate the Polish throne. The Swedish king then secured the election of his own candidate, Stanislaus Leczinski. As long as the Swedish arms were victorious Stanislaus kept the crown, but at the Swedish reverses he was obliged to retire and sought an asylum in France. When his daughter, Marie Leczinski, became the wife of Louis XV. of France, Stanislaus had the powerful influence of the French court in support of his claims.

The death of Augustus (1733) let to an attempt on the part of France in conjunction with Spain and Sardinia to reinstate Stanislaus on the Polish throne. A majority of the Polish nobles declared in his favor, but Russia and Austria, jealous of French influence in Eastern Europe, found a candidate of their own in the person of Augustus III., son of the late king. Although only a minority of the Poles declared in his favor, the presence of a large body of Russian troops eventually secured him the crown. France supported Stanislaus with a mere handful of troops. He was unable to take the field and returned to France. The struggle, known as the War of the Polish Succession, became general in Europe, and the questions at issue were not adjusted till the Peace of Vienna in 1738. By the terms of this treaty Stanislaus renounced all pretensions to the Polish throne, and received instead the duchies of Lorraine and Bar which at his death were to devolve upon France.

The death of Augustus in 1763 raised once more the difficult question of a successor to the throne. But the Poles, who thought in choosing a king from abroad to safeguard their privileges by reducing the monarchy to an honorable nullity, now found that the system of election was resolving itself into accepting under pressure the candidate most strongly supported by one of the great powers. Already, in Poland itself, parties of nobles were being formed in the interests of one or another of the powers. The election of

1763 was practically dictated by Russia and Prussia. It resulted in the choice of Stanislaus Poniatowski, formerly on intimate terms with Catherine II., and destined now to be a tool for her designs on Poland.

The dependence of Poniatowksi upon Prussia and Russia obliged him to yield to their wishes in behalf of a measure of religious equality for Poland. The Protestants, many of them Germans in the northern cities, and the so-called Dissidents, members of the Greek Church, mostly in Lithuania, were declared to be on an equal footing with the Roman Catholics. As the Poles were ardently Catholic, this measure for religious equality was strongly resented from motives of patriotism as well as intolerance. A party of nobles fell back upon the ancient right of organizing a "confederacy" to secure its repeal (1768). The confederacy took its name from the district of Bar, and is known in Polish history as the Confederacy of Bar. Its immediate object was to secure control of the king's person. An alliance was sought with the Turks. Poniatowski suppressed the revolt in Poland itself with Russian troops, but the struggle continued in the war between Turkey and Russia. This war caused indirectly the first partition of Poland. In the course of hostilities the Turks lost heavily, and Catherine found herself in a position to exact a territorial indemnity. But the situation was complicated by the fact that Prussia and Austria would view with alarm any notable increase of Russia at the expense of Turkey. The question presented itself, how to secure territorial compensation which should be "satisfactory" to all three powers. The situation called for diplomatic adjustment of more than usual nicety. In the end it was agreed that indemnification should take the form of a seizure of Polish territory, in which each of the powers should have a share. It is said that the suggestion of this high-handed method of maintaining the balance of power came from Frederick, but the most recent research seems to discover the author of the "robbery" in the person of Catherine herself. However that may be, in 1772 each power annexed a prescribed portion of Polish territory. To Russia fell a large district of eastern Lithuania; to Austria, East Galicia and Lodomir; to Prussia, West Prussia, that is, the portion of the old Prussian territory lying to the west of the Vistula. East Prussia, from which the Elector of Brandenburg had his title of king, was thus joined with West Prussia, and the two together, with the ex-

1772-1793

ception of the cities of Dantzic and Thorn and the bishopric of Ermland, which were expressly reserved for Poland, gave Frederick the lower valley of the Vistula and the adjacent Baltic coast.

Following the partition, a party of reform among the Poles began to concert plans for redeeming the critical situation of the country. Their design was twofold: to correct the vices of the constitution and to emancipate Poland from the dictation of foreign powers. The occasion of the long war (1787-1792) which Catherine in alliance with Austria was waging against the Turks, seemed to afford a favorable opportunity. In 1790 the Poles rejoiced to have secured an alliance with Prussia, Frederick William II. promising to render them assistance in case of foreign interference. Relying upon this illusive treaty, the reform party in the following year drew up and secured the adoption of a new constitution. By the terms of this instrument it was sought to secure a strong monarchy by providing for an hereditary instead of an elective kingship. With the death of Stanislaus Poniatowski, the right to the throne was to inhere in the royal house of Saxony. The king, assisted by a council of state, was to be entrusted with wide executive powers, while the diet was no longer to recognize the right of liberum veto. Amelioration was promised for the political condition of the burgher and peasant classes.

The reformers, however, had to face not only a reactionary party at home, but the armed interference in favor of the reactionaries by Catherine. Once more a confederacy was formed to resist change. This, the Confederacy of Targowitz, Catherine could the more easily assist as the war with the Turks came to an end in 1792. Russian and Prussian troops entered the country and added to the confusion of the civil war, Frederick William urging the plausible excuse of suppressing Jacobinism. The Confederacy of Targowitz defeated the patriotic party, and Prussia and Russia effected another large seizure of Polish territory, known as the second partition (1793). Poland surrendered to Russia the rest of Lithuania with some adjacent districts, to Prussia, the two cities of Dantzic and Thorn and a large stretch of territory to the south of West Prussia along the west bank of the Vistula, which was given the name of South Prussia. In addition, Russia extended over what remained of Poland the virtual restrictions of a protectorate, depriving the Poles of the right of independent foreign relations.

It was now that the heroic struggle for Polish freedom was made by the revolutionists under Kosciuszko. But in the campaigns of 1794 resistance was stamped out by the Russian and Prussian armies, and these two powers, with the addition of Austria, carried out in 1795 the third and last partition. All that remained of Poland passed into the possession of her three neighbors, and the Poles, no longer independent, found themselves subjects of one or the other of the three states in question.

Poland indeed had disappeared from the map of Europe, but the cause of Polish independence was not altogether hopeless. The history of the Poles from now on centers in the attempts, more or less of a revolutionary kind, to revive the former kingdom.

Professor Morfill has sketched with some fullness the equivocal promises held out to the Poles by Napoleon and the bitter disappointment when these promises were not fulfilled and the Congress of Vienna sanctioned anew the subjection of the Poles. With the close of the Napoleonic era and the dawn of the liberal theory of nationalist rights, it seemed that the sentiment of Europe, which had been exerted to free the Belgians from Holland, the Greeks from Turkey, and the Italians from Austria, might have some effect in bringing about the release of the Poles. But a question which so vitally concerns the interests of the three partitioning powers could with difficulty be brought within the range of serious diplomatic discussion.

In England public sentiment might have sanctioned, on more than one occasion, measures looking toward active intervention. Lord Palmerston, however, refused to commit the Liberal Party to any such hazardous venture. In the rebellion of 1831 the appeal made by the Polish rebels to England brought forth much open sympathy, but it led to little beyond abusive language in Parliament against Russia and the tsar. Palmerston refused his consent to a motion calling for an address to the crown in favor of the Poles, but he had to yield to the extent of carrying a parliamentary grant of $50,000 for the Polish exiles.

After the insurrection of 1863 the Emperor, Napoleon III., might have committed France to active intervention if England would have joined. Lord Russell went to the extent of drawing up the so-called Polish Note urging on the Russian government six points as the outline of a satisfactory settlement of the Polish difficulty. But when Lord Palmerston gave it to be understood

1863-1910

that under no consideration would he favor armed intervention, the Russian government treated the note as a piece of gratuitous officiousness. Yet it is generally understood that Lord Palmerston, before his death, expressed his belief in the ultimate revival of Polish independence.

Russian Poland was constantly in a ferment regarding separate government, and its people were liable to arrest as suspects under almost any excuse. On July 14, 1908, one hundred persons were arrested, charged with plotting against the tzar. On January 28, 1909, the Russian cabinet approved of a bill providing for the formation of a new Polish province which was to be attached to Russia proper. Several months later, on March 7, the police of Warsaw arrested one hundred and seventy-eight students at a university meeting. There was still considerable agitation regarding the establishment of the separate province of Poland.

Poland's ordeal, final victory and rebirth as a nation, make one of the most harrowing and dramatic chapters in the history of the World War. The ancient kingdom of the Poles had for so long been divided that little hope of restoration existed in 1914. Russia and Germany and, to a lesser extent, Austria-Hungary, had done their utmost to destroy the nationality of the Poles, whose manhood was divided and impressed into the service of Russian and Teutonic armies at the beginning of the war. Thereafter, until long after the armistice, Poland was devastated by advancing and retreating armies, her people harassed, all but starved, or otherwise exterminated. Through it all there survived, somehow, the will not only to live but to regain the long lost freedom.

THE POLISH REPUBLIC

THE POLISH REPUBLIC

RE-BIRTH OF A NATION. 1916-1928

DURING the first year or more of the Great War it may be said that Poland had no national history. The country was a battleground of Russia, Germany and Austria, and the Polish men had been forcibly drafted into the imperial armies of all three. On August 14, as Russia's armies moved west to attack Germany, Grand Duke Nicholas issued a proclamation in which he promised the reuniting of Poland into an autonomous state within the Russian Empire. He thus won many Poles to the Russian side. It was not long, however, before this political maneuver was discounted by the oppressive measures of the Czarist bureaucracy.

Finally the Germans became dominant, after the capture of Warsaw from the Russians in the summer of 1916, and to placate the Polish population for the demands the German armies made on them, the German Government went through the ceremonies of restoring the ancient kingdom to its former rank as an independent nation, though this independence was a matter of theory rather than actual fact. The manifesto proclaiming this paper kingdom was issued on November 5, 1916, and was read to the Polish representatives who had been assembled at the Royal Palace at Warsaw by the German Governor, General von Beseler. "We hope," added the German general, "that a Polish army will soon be fighting in the field beside their Teutonic Allies." How hollow was this ceremony was soon to be demonstrated, for the German Governor assumed the right to interfere in all internal matters; he divested the impoverished country of all its food supplies, introduced an obnoxious police control, and caused hundreds of thousands of Polish workingmen to be forcibly removed to Germany, to labor there in the German munitions factories. He also demanded the chief command of the Polish army which was being organized as the military arm of the new Government.

At first a Marshal of the Crown and a Provisional Council of State were appointed by the Germans. Then it was discovered that General Pilsudski, one of the members of the Council, was or-

ganizing a secret anti-German military society, and he was arrested and imprisoned by the Germans in a German fortress. Popular demonstrations took place in Warsaw and other cities as a protest against this high-handed action, and then the Council of State resigned. In its place the Germans appointed a Regency Council of Three, composed of the Archbishop of Warsaw and two pro-German landowners.

Then the United States joined in the war against Germany, and this roused a new hope among the Polish patriots. Even before the formal declaration of war, when, on January 22, 1917, President Wilson spoke in favor of a reunited and independent Poland, immense throngs gathered before the American consulate in Warsaw and cheered for the United States and President Wilson.

Already early in the war Ignace Paderewski had been the head of a Polish effort in the United States to raise a Polish legion to fight for Polish independence in France, and these recruits were placed under the command of General Joseph Haller, a colleague of General Pilsudski. A similar effort to create a special Polish legion as part of the Russian Army, after the downfall of the autocracy, composed of Poles in the Russian Army, had not been so successful on account of the reputed reactionary character of the man at the head of this movement, M. Dmowski, which caused the Kerensky Government to fear that this army might later be employed in fighting the Russian Socialists.

It was the Brest-Litovsk treaty between the Russian Bolsheviki and the Germans which roused Polish nationality to life, more than any previous cause, for by this agreement Poland was entirely ignored, a large portion of Polish territory being handed over to the Ukraine Republic by the Germans. There was even a strong protest against this action within the German Reichstag.

After the provisions of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty became known, the Polish Cabinet, which had been created under the Regency Council, resigned and was succeeded by another Ministry, headed by M. Steczkowski, representing the extremely conservative elements. Because of the unfavorable attitude of the Allied governments, the Regency Council dismissed this Cabinet, in the fall of 1918, and another was formed, still very conservative in character, under the presidency of M. Swiezynski.

Shortly after came the German collapse and the liberation of General Joseph Pilsudski from his German prison. He was un-

doubtedly the popular hero of the hour. Recognizing his influence over the Polish people, the Regency Council, on November 11, 1918, issued the following message to the people:

"In view of the threatening dangers from within and without, and in order to unify all military action and preserve order in the country, the Regency Council intrusts military authority over and the chief command of the Polish Army to Brigadier-General Joseph Pilsudski. After a National Government has been organized, the Regency Council will, in accordance with its former declaration, transfer to it the sovereign power of the State, and by countersigning the manifesto, General Pilsudski binds himself likewise to surrender to it his military powers, which are a part of the sovereignty of the State."

Three days later the Regency Council turned over to General Pilsudski the civil powers of the State as well, making him dictator of Poland, at the same time renouncing its own authority. But on the same day General Pilsudski issued a manifesto proclaiming his intention of holding power only until he could turn it over to a government organized on truly democratic principles, and at the same time he called on the President of the Cabinet to present plans for the election of a Representative Assembly, based on universal suffrage for women as well as men.

One of the first acts of General Pilsudski was the arrest of Bolshevist leaders and suspects.

On assuming power, General Pilsudski immediately found his hands full with military matters, for four different fronts were, or had to be, established against as many outside hostile elements. In eastern Galicia the newly organized Polish Army was fighting with the Ukrainians, the fighting centering about Przemysl and Lemberg, of which the Poles had taken possession some months before. The new year found these two cities besieged by the Ukrainians.

Soon after the conclusion of the Armistice, the Poles in Posen began to assume an aggressive attitude toward the Germans, who, in spite of their thorough defeat on the Western Front, seemed little disposed to submit to the Poles. Hostilities of considerable magnitude and intensity continued here until February 8, when an armistice between the German and Polish forces was arranged.

Poland was also at war with the newly-created Czechoslovak State, and considerable fighting took place between the forces representing the two nations, in spite of the warnings of the Peace

Conference that such disorder would prejudice them against the interests of the offending nations. On the same day that this warning was issued, January 24, the Czechoslovak armies captured two Moravian towns from the Poles.

On her northwestern frontier Poland was threatened by the forces of the Russian Soviet Government. In the middle of January it was reported that 30,000 Red Guards were converging on Warsaw in three columns, but this advance slowed up subsequently. Polish contingents were also fighting the Bolsheviki in Lithuania and elsewhere in Western Europe, and presently began an invasion of Soviet Russia.

Meanwhile Ignace Jan Paderewski, the famous pianist, who had developed the qualities of a statesman during the latter part of the war, arrived in Poland and on January 10 a Provisional Civil Government was established with himself as Premier and Foreign Minister.

On January 29 this Government was formally recognized by the United States. Paderewski, immediately on coming into power, ordered the elections for the Constituent Assembly to be held. At the elections, the party represented by Paderewski himself, extremely conservative, obtained fifty per cent of the votes, while the Socialists obtained only fifteen per cent. The total of the eligible voters was approximately 435,000, but the actual votes cast numbered only some 320,000.

On February 9, the Constituent Assembly was convoked, its members numbering two hundred, one of them being a woman. The seats were divided as follows: National Democrats, 91; Polish Peasants, 51; Peasants' Union, 19; Socialists, 14; Workmen's Unions, 7; Jewish Party, 8; United Polish Peasants, 6; German Colonists, 2.

For some weeks after the Polish Government had its hands full with the warfare it was waging on its four military fronts, the Ukrainians and the Czechoslovaks pressing the Poles very hard. An inter-Allied Commission visited Poland and endeavored to mediate between the fighting governments, but with no success.

The second important meeting of the Polish National Assembly was held in Warsaw, on February 20, and was marked by the formal turning over by General Pilsudski of his authority as dictator. The Assembly subsequently confirmed his powers as Chief of State until a constitutional form of government should be devised. At this

session Premier Paderewski appealed for a large army which, he declared, was necessary to stamp out Bolshevism.

Meanwhile large quantities of foodstuffs were arriving in Poland from the United States to relieve the food shortage, which was causing intense suffering among the poorer classes of the people. One vessel alone brought 6,500 tons of fats, condensed milk, flour, clothing, etc., bought with $2,500,000 raised among Poles in the United States.

During this period Polish forces were moving steadily eastward along the railroads, with Grodno, Slonim, Pinsk and Lutsk as objectives. Their object was to reconquer old Polish territories and establish the authority of the new government within them. The Bolsheviki offered very little resistance. Premier Paderewski, on the other hand, addressed an offer of peace terms to the Soviet Government in Moscow, in reply to which the latter expressed willingness to meet delegates from the Polish Government.

On February 21 official announcement was made that the Allied governments had decided to recognize the Polish Government.

The American delegation to the Peace Conference, having expressed dissatisfaction with the very large army Poland was raising, Premier Paderewski announced, through an interview with a newspaper correspondent, on March 1, that the Polish army of 350,000 men proposed was to be a police force to restore order on the Polish frontiers and to suppress Bolshevism. "Your advice to us not to fight," he said, "may be good to a dying man, but we wish to live and enjoy liberty."

Meanwhile the frontiers of the reëstablished Polish state were being outlined by the Peace Conference Council. On March 17 the Corridor which the Peace Conference had decided should give Poland an opening to the Baltic was outlined as follows:

On the west, the Corridor would begin on the shore of the Baltic, west of Danzig, and would include a small part of Pomerania, which is inhabited by Poles. Thence it would run east of Lauenburg, and continuing southward, east of Konitz and Schneidemuhl.

The eastern border of the Corridor would run through Frische Nehrung, thence through Frische Haff, to the west of Elbing and Osterode, which were left to Germany, thence south to the present Prussian-Polish frontier.

The western frontier of Poland from Schneidemuhl southward would give Birnbaum, Lissa and Krotoschin to Poland. In German

Silesia the Poles would get the regions of Oppeln and Kewpen. The Polish and Czech frontiers would meet east of Neustadt, south of Oppeln.

The report of the Polish Commission on the eastern frontier proposed to give Germany direct land communication across the Corridor to the Baltic, which had been accorded to Poland and which cut off part of East Prussia from the rest of Germany. The report suggested that for Poland's security the German territory to the east of the Corridor be demilitarized. It was also proposed by the Commission that the 600,000 Protestant Poles in the Mazurian Lakes region be allowed to determine by plebiscite whether they should join Catholic Poland or remain German.

The last provision was the only source of serious discontent with the new boundaries expressed in Poland; but strong dissatisfaction was aroused in Germany over the new status of Danzig.

In the beginning of April, Premier Paderewski went to Paris to discuss the problem of the disposal of Danzig. If Poland did not get Danzig, he stated, then the war would have been as good as lost so far as Polish interests were concerned. The fact, however, that Danzig was unquestionably a German city, had been a serious obstacle in the way of the Peace Conference's assigning the city to Poland; it had, therefore, been decided to give it to neither Poland nor Germany, but to internationalize it as a Free City.

There had been many reports that Polish Jews were persecuted and that disorders resembling the old Russian pogroms were taking place in some districts. As a result, an American investigating commission toured Poland. General Pilsudski declared that they were welcomed, saying: "These murder stories have no foundation in reality. We have had, for some time, not only excesses against Jews, but similar excesses against Gentiles, for war leaves savage traces in all peoples, and four years of war have made these traces particularly strong in Poland." Mr. Henry Morgenthau, at the head of the American commission, reported that though massacres were not as bad as had been reported, the Jews in Poland were suffering greatly from economic boycott. Such troubles persisted and constitute one of the problems of the new republic.

Some fighting took place between Poland and Czechoslovakia in the early part of 1919 over the region near Teschen, which contains coal and iron mines and is otherwise industrially important. The disputed boundary was settled by the Council of Ambassadors

in the middle of 1920. They gave Teschen to Poland, but most of the industrial district went to Czechoslovakia.

Throughout 1919, there was more or less persistent conflict between Polish troops and the forces of the newly created states of Soviet Russia, and a strong force was maintained on the eastern border. A Polish offensive against Bolshevist Russia took Kiev in May, 1920, in a successful invasion of the Ukraine. The Bolsheviki countered with a vigorous offensive that carried them almost to Warsaw by August, 1920. A French military mission aided in reorganizing the Polish defense when this capital was threatened, and the Poles, led by Pilsudski, drove back the invaders. The Treaty of Riga, signed on October 12, 1920, and ratified by Poland on April 17, 1921, gave to the Polish Republic an eastern boundary more favorable than that decided on in Paris by the Allies in 1919. Pinsk, Kovel and Rovno were among the towns included in the new territory. As restored, the Polish Republic has an area, according to the census of 1921, of 149,958 square miles, and a population of 27,176,717.

On December 15, 1919, Premier Paderewski resigned and was succeeded by M. Skulski, former Mayor of Lodz. The Paderewski Government was conservative and the change was to one more radical. Paderewski's resignation brought about intense political conflict, one premier succeeding another in rapid succession, though Pilsudski remained the real head of government. M. Naturowicz, friend of Pilsudski, was elected President on December 16, 1922, but was assassinated two days later. M. Wojciechowski then became President. Political conflict, aggravated by racial clashes, by class bitterness and by economic distress, continued for four years, and during this period Poland received aid from the American Relief Administration. By degrees Pilsudski had been relegated to a secondary place in the government, but in May, 1926, when the peasant leader, Witos, returned to power as Premier for the third time, Pilsudski executed a military coup and made himself dictator. This time, however, he became Premier, and Ignace Moscicki was elected President.

The plebiscites originally planned at Versailles were not in all instances carried out. That in Upper Silesia, March 20, 1921, to decide a boundary between Poland and Germany, was so unsatisfactory to the Poles that Korfanty led an insurrection in May and succeeded in making himself a dictator over the southeastern part of

this disputed territory. Germans and their sympathizers under General Hofer defended themselves, and the Allies were obliged to intervene with their troops. The French preferred that the Poles should be awarded the industrial region; the British and Italians favored giving it to Germany. The question was decided by the League of Nations in August, 1921. Poland received the larger share of the industrial region. A conference at Geneva in November, 1921, led to the signing of a convention between the two countries in May, 1922. Naturally, the countries are not entirely contented with the adjustment and disputes continue to arise.

Vilna, claimed by the Lithuanians as their ancient capital, was of all cities most war-torn, having been repeatedly taken by Lithuanians, Germans, Russians and Poles. At a time when the League of Nations was attempting to adjust matters by compromise, an independent Polish general, Zeligovski, seized the city, on October 9, 1920, and it has since remained in Polish hands, a fact to which Lithuania had not become reconciled in 1928, though a kind of adjustment was made by the League of Nations late in 1927. In the interim it had been a constant source of trouble and a threat of more serious hostilities. The League of Nations had, indeed, in 1923, attempted to please both parties by giving Lithuania control of Memel—the important port and adjacent territory—and recognizing Poland's hold on Vilna. It is probable that Poland would consider control of Memel even more important if there were any possibility of exchanging it for Vilna.

The Allenstein-Marienwerder plebiscite concerning disputed regions in East and West Prussia, held on July 11, 1920, gave this region for the most part to Germany, but some territory to the east of the Vistula was added to the Polish Corridor, which separates Germany from the Free City of Danzig and from the German state of East Prussia, the East Prussians being, however, protected in their right to use the Vistula. It is a situation over which the Germans were still dissatisfied in 1928. On the other hand, the Poles rejoice in the "Corridor" and in their sandy strip of seacoast on the Baltic, where they are constructing a new port, Gdynia, which was formally opened in 1925. At present, 1928, it is used chiefly for the coal and lumber trade, but it is the purpose of the Poles to develop there a rival port to Danzig and other Baltic coast cities. Wealthy citizens are also building villas and developing resorts on the coast.

1927-1928

Poland experienced a period of favorable developments in economic reconstruction, beginning with the second half of 1926. Outstanding features of these improvements were stabilization of the zloty, maintained for a year before legal stabilization was effected; large increase in state revenue, which yielded a surplus in 1927 of 275,000,000 zlotys in spite of large expenditures; stability of the Bank of Poland; improvement in bank deposits and credit; increases in foreign and domestic trade and in industry generally. Revenue for 1927 amounted to 2,573,000,000 zlotys, a zloty being $0.113. For 1928, a program of improvements which included considerable road-building was adopted.

The new Poland is a country with large mineral wealth and natural resources. A decrease in petroleum output causes some anxiety, but other items are developing promisingly. Forest products are destined to an important position, for about 23 per cent of the area of Poland is wooded and about 7,000,000 acres of valuable forest are under state control.

The dynamic leader, Pilsudski, was in 1928 advocating a reconstruction of the Constitution in a manner to give the President more power, after the fashion of the United States.

THE BALTIC REPUBLICS

FINLAND, ESTONIA, LATVIA, LITHUANIA

1917-1928

By

CLEVELAND RODGERS

THE BALTIC STATES—FINLAND, ESTONIA, LATVIA, LITHUANIA. 1917-1928

AUTOCRATIC Russia's disintegration following the revolution of 1917 led to the creation of four new Baltic States, the republics of Finland, Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia, all carved from the old Muscovite empire. Although certain boundaries were still in dispute in 1928, the following figures as to areas and population are approximately correct:

Republic	Area (land) Sq. miles	Population	Capital
Finland	132,608	3,558,059 (1926)	Helsingfors
Estonia	18,362	1,117,750	Tallinn (Reval)
Latvia	24,440	1,844,805	Riga
Lithuania	22,590	2,254,668	Kovno (temporary)

The former Russian Grand Duchy of Finland, despite the oppressive measures of the Czarist régime, was perhaps the most prosperous and democratic part of old Russia in 1914. When Russia entered the war, few Finns gave her volunteer support, and some 2,000 joined the German army, while many wished for Russia's defeat. With the overthrow of the Czar, the Finns regained their political liberties, but new conflicts developed between Finland and the Provisional Government in Petrograd. A cleavage between classes followed the Bolshevist revolution on November 11, and on December 6, 1917, the conservative Finnish Senate declared Finland to be an independent state. Finland's independence was recognized by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which freed her from Red Russia, but Finnish radicals organized Red Guards who threatened the government. White Guards, under General Carl Gustav Emil Mannerheim, assisted by a German army division, finally defeated the Reds and drove them out of Finland. The Red Terror was followed by a White Terror, in which 15,000 persons were killed and nearly 75,000 rebels imprisoned.

The Senate offered the crown of Finland to Prince Frederick Charles of Hesse, the German Kaiser's brother-in-law, but before this German scheme was consummated the Allies won the war. Gen-

eral Mannerheim became Regent in December, 1918, and remained virtual dictator of the country until July 17, 1919, when Finland became a republic. Professor Kaarlo Juho Stahlberg was the first President.

Lithuania was invaded early in the war by German troops and encouragement was given to the movement for independence from Russia. The Bolshevists relinquished Russia's claims to Lithuania at Brest-Litovsk and when Germany's defeat became assured an independent government was set up in the as yet unbounded territory. There followed a long period of dispute over boundaries, the most bitter being that with Poland. Memel, seized by the Lithuanians and held by them, and Vilna, held by the Poles, continued to be vital controversial questions, although conferences with Germany over Memel and with Poland over Vilna and other disputed territory were in progress in 1928, and the Lithuanians still insist that their capital is Vilna, and that Kovno is such only temporarily.

As in the case of Lithuania, Latvia was overrun during the war and many of her inhabitants took refuge in Russia. The National Latvian Army, formed in 1915 to fight for Russia, helped create an independence movement, which developed fully after the Russian revolution. The Latvian Republic was proclaimed on November 18, 1918, but it was not until August 11, 1920, when peace with Soviet Russia was concluded, that normal conditions were restored. Estonia, smallest of the Baltic Republics, had to fight desperately against Soviet Russia to secure her independence after the Bolshevist revolution of November, 1917. The territory, with the port of Reval, was used by the Germans and Russian counter-revolutionaries in attacks on the Russian Reds, and was in turn invaded by the Soviet forces. Estonia declared her independence on February 24, 1918. Peace was established between Estonia and Soviet Russia on February 2, 1920.

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The number of authoritative works in English on the history of Russia and Poland is very small. The critical treatises are nearly all in French, German or Russian. There is no intention here of offering any of the latter. The list below, with the exception of one or two very well known French works, is confined altogether to books in English. Most of them will be found available in public libraries.

For general description, two works of recent date will be useful: W. Gerrare's "Greater Russia" (1903), and H. Norman's "All the Russias" (1902). A somewhat older study will be found in D. Mackenzie Wallace's "Russia," first published in 1877, but recently issued in a new and revised edition. "Russian Life in Town and Country" (1901) is an admirable sketch of certain phases of Russian social life by F. H. E. Palmer. "*Un Voyage en Russie*," by Théophile Gautier, belongs more to general literature than to the special subject with which it deals. Among the works of Stepniak (pseudonym), "Underground Russia" (1883), and "The Russian Peasantry" (1888) are useful, while for a psychological study of character and temperament "Russian Characteristics," by E. B. Lanin (pseudonym), (1892), is almost the only thing of its kind.

For political institutions the standard work is "*L'Empire de Tsars et les Russes*" (1881), in three volumes by A. Leroy-Beaulieu. "Russian Political Institutions," by M. Kovalevsky (1902), is a series of lectures delivered by Professor Kovalevsky at the University of Chicago. They are liberal in tone, but the book itself is unfortunately spoiled by serious errors and ambiguities. For the navy, the first book to appear in English was Sir G. S. Clarke's "Russia's Sea Power" (1898). A more recent work is "The Imperial Russian Navy," by F. T. Jane (1904). For Russian Literature, the standard work for years to come will be "A Russian Anthology," by Leo P. Wiener.

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For the present situation in Russia recourse must be had to periodicals. From the side of the Constitutional Democrats the only scholarly work appearing thus far is "Russia and its Crisis," by Paul Milyoukov (1906).

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